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HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SECOND SERIES.

VOLUME I.

Is het schoonste landt om te bouwen als ick oijt mijn leven met voeten betrat.—
It is the finest country for cultivation that I ever in my life set foot upon.

HUDSON'S JOURNAL, QUOTED BY DE LAET.

NEW-YORK:
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FOR THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
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P R E F A C E .

The volume now presented to the public, the first in a new series of the Collections of the New-York Historical Society, is almost exclusively taken up with the annals of the Dutch colonists by whom the arts of civilization were originally planted on the banks of the Hudson. A noble commonwealth has sprung up within the limits of their ancient jurisdiction, now rivalling in population and extent some of the monarchies of the old world. Beginning with the first glimpses of a discovery of our sea-coast, it has been our aim to bring together the earliest notices of Hudson's memorable voyage that disclosed the existence of 'the great river of the mountains,' now better known under the name of the navigator himself, and to collect the scattered traces of the first attempts to colonize the country. The primitive settlements on Manhattan island and near Albany—the gradual spread of population into the interior—the perils and hardships—the difficulties and embarrassments, with which the early colonists had to contend, and their final triumph over them all—respectively come under consideration in the following pages. Yet it should be recollected, that we give in most instances only the *materials* of history—the original documents to which historians must resort for their guidance—and therefore naked facts and unembellished statements are all that can be expected in the volume.*

It is remarked by Grahame, in his recent elaborate work upon the history of North America, that "Founders of ancient colonies have sometimes been deified by their successors. *New-York* is perhaps the only commonwealth whose founders have been covered with ridicule from the same quarter." Whatever may be thought of the wit and talent displayed in the well-known travesty here alluded to, the regret has often been expressed that a son of New

* Lambrechtsen's work would be an exception to this remark in point of style, had it been translated with the elegance of the original. See a fine article upon it, in the ninth volume of the *North American Review*, (June, 1819,) from the pen of Mr. Verplanck.

York should have seen fit to make the fathers of the republic the subjects of a 'coarse caricature,' in which the inventive ingenuity of the author is only equalled by the grossness of his conceptions. The effort was well suited to the English notions of the Dutch character, too common, perhaps, among ourselves, and thus easily acquired an ill-deserved popularity.

"English writers," says Mr. Verplanck, in his learned discourse before this Society, "have long been accustomed to describe the manners and customs of Holland with a broad and clumsy exaggeration. This is a little injudicious in them, because most of their wit, if wit it may be called, recoils back upon their own country, and strikingly resembles the flippant ridicule which their own more lively neighbours have lavished upon the hard drinking, the oaths, the gross amusements, the dingy coffee-houses, the boxing matches, the beer, and the coal-smoke of the proud and melancholy islanders. Their old maritime contests and commercial rivalry may serve to excuse this misrepresentation in Englishmen, but for us there is no apology."

The task of preparing and editing the present volume has devolved exclusively upon the subscriber; and if performed in a manner satisfactory to the public, and to those he has the honor to represent, he will be abundantly compensated for the trouble it has cost him. Much labour has been bestowed upon a careful revision of the various translations and in collating them with the original works; more perhaps, than will be apparent to the reader. But in such a variety of materials it is scarcely to be expected that mistakes should not sometimes occur, and he must crave the usual indulgence in such cases.

GEO. FOLSOM,
Of the Publishing Committee.

New-York, June 1st, 1841.

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AN
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,
DELIVERED BEFORE
THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
BY THE
HON. JAMES KENT, LL.D.
(President of the Society.)
DECEMBER 6TH, 1828.

[REPRINTED.]

ROOMS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, }
December 9th, 1828.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Honorable JAMES KENT, for his able, appropriate, and highly interesting Discourse, delivered in the Hall of Columbia College, on the 6th of December instant; and that he be requested to furnish a copy of the same for publication.

Resolved, That Dr. John W Francis, Rev. Dr. Wainwright, and Charles King, Esq, be a Committee to carry the foregoing resolution into effect.

From the Minutes.

JOSEPH BLUNT,
Recording Secretary.

DISCOURSE, &c.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,—

IT is a subject of just congratulation, that we now find this Society in a condition to pursue, with success, the patriotic design of the founders of the institution. By means of the bounty of the legislature, and the public spirit of several of the members, we are relieved from our embarrassments, and are enabled to display, to great advantage, the valuable collection of books and historical documents which we possess.

Our collections heretofore lay in such disorder, that few persons were aware of their intrinsic value. They have been redeemed from confusion, and made conveniently accessible to the scholar and the antiquary; and can now, with great satisfaction, be presented to the view of our own citizens, and of intelligent strangers. For this improvement, our thanks are especially due to Mr. Delafield, the Treasurer; and it is to his industry, taste, and zeal, that we are indebted for this new and beautiful arrangement of our historical materials.

When we advert to what has been done in other States, and particularly in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, and perceive how much they have hitherto surpassed us in the extent and value of their researches, I trust we shall feel an additional stimulus to acquit ourselves of our duty, and throw back upon our own annals some of the light and lustre which emanate from the spirit of the age.

As the object of the Society is to discover, collect, and preserve materials calculated to illustrate the history of our country, it has appeared to me to be suitable to the design of this anniversary meeting, to call your attention to some reflections, arising upon a view of the domestic history of this State. If I do not greatly deceive myself, there is no portion of the history of this country, which is more instructive, or better calculated to embellish our national character.

The eastern descendants of the pilgrims are justly proud of their colonial ancestors; and they are wisely celebrating, on all

proper occasions, the memory and merits of the original founders of their republics, in productions of great genius and classical taste. Why should we, in this state, continue any longer comparatively heedless of our own glory, when we also can point to a body of illustrious annals? Our history will be found, upon examination, to be as fruitful as the records of any other people, in recitals of heroic actions, and in images of resplendent virtue. It is equally well fitted to elevate the pride of ancestry, to awaken deep feeling, to strengthen just purpose, and enkindle generous emulation.

Such historical reviews have a salutary influence upon the morals and manners of the times; for they help us to detect pretended merit, to rebuke selfish ambition, to check false patriotism, and humble arrogant pretension.

The discovery of the Hudson, and the settlement of our ancestors upon its borders, is a plain and familiar story, on which I shall not enlarge. Our origin is within the limits of well-attested history. This at once dissipates the enchantments of fiction; and we are not permitted, like the nations of ancient Europe, to deduce our lineage from super-human beings, or to clothe the sage and heroic spirits who laid the foundations of our empire, with the exaggerations and lustre of poetical invention. Nor do we stand in need of the aid of such machinery. It is a sufficient honour to be able to appeal to the simple and severe records of truth. The Dutch discoverers and settlers of New-Netherlands, were grave, temperate, firm, persevering men, who brought with them the industry, the economy, the simplicity, the integrity, and the bravery of their Belgic sires; and with those virtues they also imported the lights of the Roman civil law, and the purity of the Protestant faith. To that period we are to look with chastened awe and respect, for the beginnings of our city, and the works of our primitive fathers—our *Albani patres, atque altæ mænia Romæ*.

It does great credit to the just and moderate views of the Dutch during their government in this colony, that though they selected and settled on some of the best bottom-lands on the shores of the Hudson and its tributary waters, they lived upon friendly terms with the powerful confederacy of the Five Nations of Indians, whose original dominion extended over all the lands occupied by the Dutch. They were, at times, involved in hostilities with restless clans of neighbouring Indians, but the original and paramount lords of the soil, and generally the Long Island Indians, gave them no disturbance.* The reason was,

* Smith's History of New-York, vol. i. 23. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. i. 138—140. Collections of the New-York Historical Society, vol. iii. 324, 357. Wood's Sketch of the First Settlement on Long Island, p. 29—32.

that the Indian right to the soil was recognized by the Dutch, and always regarded by them, as well as by the English, their successors, with the best faith; and they claimed no lands but such as were procured by purchase.* The speech of the Indian called *Good Peter* to the commissioners of Fort Schuyler, in 1788, is a strong attestation of this fact. He observed, that when the white men first came into the country, they were few and feeble, and the Five Nations numerous and powerful. The Indians were friendly to the white men, and permitted them to settle in the country, and protected them from their enemies; and they had wonderfully increased, and become like a great tree overshadowing the whole country.†

The Dutch colonial annals are of a tame and pacific character, and generally dry and uninteresting. The civil officers, as well as the ministers of the Dutch churches, were well-educated men, who imbibed their religion and learning in Holland; and in their long and sharp controversies with the New England Colonies, the governors of this Colony showed themselves to be no ways inferior in their discussions to the most sagacious of the Puritans, either in talent, doctrine, or manners. Their disputes were concerning territorial jurisdiction, and particularly in respect to the country on Connecticut river, and they also had contentions concerning fugitives from justice, and interferences with the Indian trade. Strength and arrogance of deportment were evidently on the side of the English. Governor Keift, in his letter to the commissioners of the United Colonies of New-England, in 1646, observed, that their complaints of ill-usage were the complaints of the wolf against the lamb.‡ Governor Stuyvesant also observed, in his letter to the Dutch West India Company, in 1660, that the New-Englanders were in the ratio of ten to one, and able to deprive the Dutch of their country.¶ The Dutch governors charged the English, in direct terms, with an insatiable desire of possessing their lands; and whatever might have been the real merits of the Dutch title to lands on Connecticut river, founded on assumed prior discovery and prior Indian purchase, it appears, at least from the diplomatic papers of the time, that their manner of vindicating their claim, and repelling accusation, and remonstrating against aggression, was forcible, sagacious, and temperate.

Peter Stuyvesant administered the Dutch government from 1647 to the surrender of the Colony to the English, in 1664,

* Wood's Sketch, p. 12, 22, 23, gives the names of the several tribes from whom all the lands on Long Island, whether settled by the Dutch or English, were purchased.

† Collections of the New York Historical Society, vol. iii. 326.

‡ Hist. Coll. New-York Society, vol. i. 196.

¶ Smith's Hist. of New-York, vol. i. 21.

and he held his power in difficult times, and was surrounded with perils ; but he was a man of military skill, and of great firmness, judgment, and discretion. He manifested his desire for peace, and showed the magnanimity of his character, in going, in proper person, in 1650, to Hartford, to meet and negotiate with the commissioners of the New-England Colonies. Though standing alone in the midst of a body of keen and well-instructed opponents, he conducted himself with admirable address and firmness. The correspondence between him and the commissioners, is embodied and preserved in the collections of this Society, and it does credit to his memory.* The commissioners took offence at the date of his first diplomatic note, which, though written on the spot, was dated New-Netherlands. Governor Stuyvesant consented to date it at Connecticut, leaving out New-Netherlands, provided the commissioners would date theirs at Hartford, leaving out New-England, and to this they assented. Both parties managed the controversy with great discretion and good sense. When the commissioners complained of the vagueness and harshness of some parts of his letters, Governor Stuyvesant replied, that he came there from the love of peace, and not for altercation ; and that they all knew he could not deliver himself so promptly and clearly in the English as in his own native tongue, and no advantage ought to be taken of any inaccuracy of expression. The meeting adjourned without any decisive results ; and he afterwards, in the year 1653, sent an elaborate vindication of his rights to the New-England commissioners at Boston, which contained sound expositions of national law. The English had complained of the exaction of duties upon them in their trade and purchases at New-Amsterdam ; and he in his turn insisted, that every civil government had a right to make what laws it thought fit, and every person who came within a foreign jurisdiction, must expect to find, and not to bring laws with him. He resented, in proper terms of indignation, the atrocious charge of being concerned in a conspiracy with the Indians to plunder his neighbours, and shed innocent blood ; and he said that he reposed on the *mens conscia recti*, and despised the tongue of calumny. Though he sought nothing but peace and neighbourly intercourse, yet, if he must be driven to extremities, he had confidence that a just God would smile on and bless a righteous defence.

With that wise and good man terminated the Dutch power in this Colony.

* Collections, vol. i. 189—290, taken from Hazard's Historical Collections, vol. ii.

The English took possession of the government in 1664, and administered it in the name, and under the authority of the Duke of York, who was the patentee. The terms of surrender of the Dutch power were exceedingly liberal. The inhabitants were made secure in their persons, property, and religion.* Their titles to land were previously free from the appendages and services of feudal bondage.† The conquest of the Colony proved to be a very fortunate event for the Dutch. They were relieved from perilous controversies with their eastern neighbours, and they became entitled to the privileges of English subjects. In a few years they participated in the blessings of a representative government, and they exchanged their Roman jurisprudence for the freer spirit, the better security, and more efficient energy of the English common law. The Dutch and English inhabitants became thoroughly united and formed but one indivisible people. The Dutch race in this colony kept at least equal pace with their English brethren, in every estimable qualification of good citizens. Through all the subsequent periods of our eventful story, down to the present day, they have furnished their full proportion of competent men. This they have done in every variety of situation in which our country was placed, whether in peace or in war; and whatever was the duty in which they were engaged, whether in the civil or military, political or professional departments.‡

Within twenty years from the conquest of the Colony, a free government, upon the plan of the English constitution, was given to it, consisting of a Governor and Legislative Council, appointed by the Crown, and a House of Assembly, chosen by the people.¶ The Assembly was composed, in the first instance, of seventeen members only, and it was never enlarged, even down to the period of the American war, beyond the number of twenty-seven. The members, during the earlier periods of our colony history, were elected for an indefinite period; and new elections seemed to have been held only upon the dissolution

* Smith's History of New-York, vol. i. 32.

† This is to be inferred from the conditions which had been offered by the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, in 1656, to the settlers in New-Netherlands, one of which was, that every farmer should have a free, fast, and durable property in his lands.—*New-York Historical Collections*, vol. i. 291.

‡ It is worthy of notice, that the only two regiments of infantry from this state, in the line of the army of the United States, at the close of the American war, were commanded by Dutchmen. I allude to the regiments commanded by Col. Van Cortlandt and Col. Van Schaick. And I hope I may be permitted to add, without meaning any invidious comparisons, that we have now living in this state, in advanced life, three lawyers of Dutch descent, who are not surpassed any where in acuteness of mind, in sound law learning, and in moral worth. The reader will readily perceive that I have in my eye Egbert Benson, Peter Van Schaack and Abraham Van Vechten.

¶ Smith's History, vol. i. 43. 58.

of the legislature by the act of the governor. After long struggles for triennial elections, the assembly finally succeeded in 1743, to have the assembly made septennial by law. But we should be greatly mistaken if we were to conclude that so small a body of representatives, and chosen for such indefinite or protracted periods, was unable to withstand the influence of the executive branch of the government. The house, almost as soon as it was organized, began to feel its strength, and to display its independent genius. Through the whole period of our colonial history, the general assembly rarely ceased to sustain its rights, and assert its dignity with becoming spirit, against the whole weight and influence of the delegated powers of royalty. This character of the house, was a consequence naturally flowing from the healthy and vigorous principle of popular election, which, like the touch by Antæus of his mother Earth, in his struggles with Hercules, always communicated fresh strength and courage to renew the contest.

The house of assembly, from the very beginning of it, exercised its discretion as to the grant of supplies for the support of government, both in respect to extent and the duration of the grants. The governors, however, constantly complained, and insisted upon a permanent provision for the officers of government, and they interposed royal instructions, and sharp remonstrances, for that purpose. Governor Fletcher, in 1695, first began the struggle with the assembly upon that point, and the contest was continued down to the era of our revolution; but the assembly retained the control of their funds with inflexible firmness. As the governor and council were appointed by the crown, and held their offices at its pleasure, and as the judges were appointed by the governor and held at his pleasure, the colonial assembly had good reason to be tenacious of reserving to themselves some check upon the executive and judicial departments, by means of their support.

In 1708 the house of assembly declared that it was the unquestionable right of every freeman in the colony to have a perfect and entire property in his goods and estate; and that the imposing and levying of any moneys upon the subjects of the colony, under any pretence or colour whatsoever, without their consent, in general assembly, was a grievance, and a violation of right. They further declared that the king could not erect a court of equity in the colony without the consent of the legislature. This last resolution was again and again adopted, between 1702 and 1735, in despite of the influence and menaces of the royal representative.* In 1749, the claim upon the assembly to pass a permanent supply bill, was renewed in the

* Colony Journals, vol. i. 223.

most imperious and offensive manner. The governor told the assembly that he had the king's instructions for a law rendering the provision for the support of government permanent; and the house calmly replied, that they would never recede from the method of an annual support. The governor then went so far as to deny their authority to act, except by the royal commissions and instructions, alterable at the king's pleasure, and subject to his limitations; and that there was a power able to punish them, and would punish them, if they provoked it by their misbehaviour. He proceeded to such extremities that the assembly, without swerving in the least from their determined purpose, declared his conduct to be arbitrary, illegal, and a violation of their privileges.*

It would be difficult to find in any of the legislative records of this country, a clearer sense of right, or a better spirit to defend it. There were also considerations arising from the peculiarity of their local condition, which serve greatly to elevate the character of our colonial ancestors.

Whenever war existed between Great Britain and France, the province of New-York was the principal theatre of colonial contest. It became the Flanders of America, and it had to sustain, from time to time, the scourge and fury of savage and Canadian devastation. We need only cast an eye upon our geographical position, and read the affecting details of the formidable expeditions, and the frightful incursions which laid waste our northern and western frontiers, between 1690, and the conquest of Canada, in 1760, to be deeply impressed with a sense of the difficulties which this colony had to encounter, and of the fortitude and perseverance with which they were overcome. The leading men, who swayed the house of assembly, or directed the popular voice, never wanted valour and virtue adequate to the crisis.

But I hasten to cast a rapid glance over the great events in our domestic history, subsequent to the peace of 1763.

The colony took an early and distinguished stand against the claims of the British parliament, to raise a revenue from their American colonies without their consent. If she was not in advance, New-York was at least equal in point of time, in point of spirit, and in point of argument, to any of the colonies, in the use she made of the monitory language of remonstrance. In March, 1764, the English house of commons passed a declaratory resolution, that it would be proper to impose certain stamp duties in the colonies for the purpose of raising revenue, and other resolutions passed at the same time, laying new duties

* Smith's Hist. of New-York, vol. ii. 106—110. Colony Journals, vol. ii. 244—274.

upon the trade of the colonies. In October, 1764, the house of assembly of this colony, addressed the king and each house of parliament against all such schemes of taxation. They contended that the power of taxing themselves was interwoven fundamentally in their constitution, and was an exclusive and inextinguishable right; and that the people of the colony could not be rightfully taxed without their consent, given by their representatives in general assembly. They declared that they received with the bitterness of grief, the intimation of a design in the British parliament to infringe that inestimable right. They complained also of the extension of the powers of the Vice-Admiralty courts, which led to a dangerous diminution of trial by jury. The assembly reasoned the question of taxation, with the British parliament, in the most eloquent and masterly manner; they declared that the people of the colony nobly disdained to claim exemption from foreign taxation as a privilege; they challenged it, and gloried in it as a right. It was a right enjoyed by their fellow-subjects in Great Britain, and was the grand principle of the independence of the British house of commons; and they very significantly asked, "Why such an odious discrimination? Why should it be denied to those who submitted to poverty, barbarian wars, loss of blood, loss of money, personal fatigues, and ten thousand unutterable hardships, to enlarge the trade, dominion, and wealth of the nation?"

In October, 1765, the house of assembly were represented by a select committee, in a congress of the northern colonies, which met in this city, on the subject of the grievous claims and laws of the British parliament. The chairman of that committee was Judge Livingston, the father of the late Chancellor of that name; and he reported to the house the proceedings of the congress, and the house approved of the conduct and services of the committee. They then united in fresh remonstrances to the king, and each house of parliament, against the stamp act and other statutes imposing taxes upon the colonies without their consent, and against the unwarrantable jurisdiction of the Vice-Admiralty courts. They declared that they were not, and could not, be represented in parliament; and their addresses were spirited and determined, and they certainly were urged with weighty and pathetic exhortation.

At the close of the year 1768, the house of assembly again remonstrated in the most decided style, and in animated addresses to the king and parliament, against the claims of the British government. They specified their essential rights, and enumerated their grievances. They complained of the recent statutes imposing duties and raising revenue from the colonies without their consent, as being utterly subversive of their constitutional rights. They insisted that the authority of the colo-

nial legislatures could not lawfully be suspended, abridged, or abrogated ; and they considered the suspension of their legislative power, until they should have made provision for the accommodation of the king's troops, as a most dangerous assumption of unlawful power. They strongly urged their complaints of the erection of courts dependent upon the will of a royal governor ; of Admiralty courts in which they were deprived of trial by jury, so deservedly celebrated by Englishmen, in all ages, as essential to their safety ; and of the parliamentary claim of a right to give away their estates, and bind them in all cases whatsoever. They asserted, in the most manly terms, their claim to a participation in those rights and liberties, which had been declared by *Magna Charta*, and re-asserted in the petition and bill of rights, and confirmed at the accession of the house of Orange ; and they reminded the king and parliament of their former loyalty and services, and how often it had been confessed that their zeal had carried them to make contributions beyond their proportion, and that the excesses had been reimbursed.

These state papers were produced in December, 1768, and they resemble very much in matter, spirit, and style, the resolutions and addresses of the first continental congress, in 1774, and they rival them in dignity and value. They were forwarded to the colonial agent at the court of Great Britain, and that agent was Edmund Burke. And yet for those very proceedings, the assembly was severely rebuked by the governor, Sir Henry Moore, and the legislature was dissolved.

As the disputes between the mother country and the colonies grew more serious, and were evidently approximating to an appeal to arms, the house of assembly began to pause in its career. The influence of the crown upon the legislature of the colony was sensibly felt, and it tended, in a considerable degree, to damp their future zeal, and neutralize their measures. But the spirit of the people kept equal pace with the views and wishes of their brethren in the other colonies ; and the prominent and splendid luminaries in the great scenes of the revolution, now began to ascend above the horizon. The names of Philip Schuyler and George Clinton, appear on the journals of the colony assembly, as members of the house during those noble efforts in the year 1768 ; and they were constantly maintained in that station, by their constituents of Albany and Ulster counties, from that year down to the termination of the existence of the colony legislature in April, 1775. The Dutch family of Schuyler stands conspicuous in our colonial annals. Colonel Peter Schuyler was mayor of Albany, and commander of the northern militia, in 1690. He was distinguished for his probity, and activity in all the various duties of civil and military life. No man understood better the relation of the

colony with the Five Nations of Indians, or had more decided influence with that confederacy. He had frequently chastised the Canadian French for their destructive incursions upon the frontier settlements; and his zeal and energy were rewarded by a seat in the provincial council; and the house of assembly gave their testimony to the British court of his faithful services and good reputation. It was this same vigilant officer who gave intelligence to the inhabitants of Deerfield, on the Connecticut river, of the designs of the French and Indians upon them, some short time before the destruction of that village, in 1704.* In 1720, as president of the council, he became acting governor of the colony for a short time, previous to the accession of Governor Burnet.† His son, Colonel Philip Schuyler, was an active and efficient member of assembly, for the city and county of Albany, in 1743. But the *Philip Schuyler* to whom I particularly allude, and who in a subsequent age shed such signal lustre upon the family name, was born at Albany in the year 1733, and at an early age he began to display his active mind, and military spirit. He was a captain in the New-York levies at Fort Edward, in 1755, and accompanied the British army in the expedition down lake George, in the summer of 1758. He was with Lord Howe when he fell by the fire of the enemy, on landing at the north end of the lake; and he was appointed (as he himself informed me) to convey the body of that young and lamented nobleman to Albany, where he was buried, with appropriate solemnities, in the Episcopal church.

We next find him, under the title of Colonel Schuyler, in company with his compatriot George Clinton, in the year 1768, on the floor of the house of assembly, taking an active share in all their vehement discussions. Neither of them was to be overawed or seduced from a bold and determined defence of the constitutional rights of the colonies, and of an adherence to the letter and spirit of the councils of the union. The struggle in the house of assembly, between the ministerial and the whig parties, was brought to a crisis in the months of February and March, 1775; and in that memorable contest, Philip Schuyler and George Clinton, together with Nathaniel Woodhull, of Long Island, acted distinguished parts. On the motions to give the thanks of the house to the delegates from the colony in the continental congress of September, 1774; and to thank the merchants and inhabitants of the colony, for their adherence to the non-importation and the association recommended by con-

* Smith's *History of New-York*, vol. i. 92. 94. 137, 138. Hoyt's *Indian Wars*, p. 185.

† *Colony Journals*, vol. i. 438.

gress, those patriots found themselves in the minority. But their courage and resolution gained strength from defeat. On the 3d of March, Colonel Schuyler moved declaratory resolutions that the act of 4 Geo. III. imposing duties for raising a revenue in America; and for extending the jurisdiction of Admiralty courts; and for depriving his majesty's subjects in America of trial by jury; and for holding up an injurious discrimination between the subjects of Great Britain and those of the colonies, were great grievances. The government party seem to have fled the question, and to have left in the house only the scanty number of nine members, and the resolutions were carried by a vote of seven to two. But their opponents immediately rallied, and eleven distinct divisions, on different motions, were afterwards taken in the course of that single day, and entered on the journal; and they related to all the momentous points then in controversy, between Great Britain and the United Colonies. It was a sharp and hard-fought contest for fundamental principles; and a more solemn and eventful debate rarely ever happened on the floor of a deliberative assembly. The house consisted on that day of twenty-four members, and the ministerial majority was exactly in the ratio of two to one; and the intrepidity, talent, and services of the three members I have named, and especially of Schuyler and Clinton, were above all praise, and laid the foundation for those lavish marks of honour and confidence which their countrymen were afterwards so eager to bestow.

The resistance of the majority of the house was fairly broken down, and essentially controlled by the efforts of the minority and the energy of public opinion. A series of resolutions, declaratory of American grievances, were passed, and petitions to the king and parliament adopted, not indeed in all respects such as the leaders of the minority wished, (for all their amendments were voted down,) but they were nevertheless grounded upon the principles of the American revolution. They declared that the claims of taxation and absolute sovereignty, on the part of the British parliament, and the extension of admiralty jurisdiction, were grievances, and unconstitutional measures; and that the act of parliament, shutting up the port of Boston, and altering the charter of that colony, was also a grievance.

These were the last proceedings of the general assembly of the colony of New-York, which now closed its existence for ever. More perilous scenes, and new and brighter paths of glory, were opening upon the vision of those illustrious patriots.

The delegates from this colony to the first continental congress in 1774, were not chosen by the general assembly, but by

the suffrages of the people, manifested in some sufficiently authentic shape in the several counties. Among these delegates, and indeed among the whole list of persons in this first memorable convention, which assembled at Philadelphia with more than Amphictyonic dignity, there is but the name of a single survivor. He now lives in an adjoining county, in tranquil retirement, with his faculties sound, his health comfortable, cherished by his children, cheered by his friends, and displaying in his conversation and manners the wisdom of a sage, and the faith and resignation of a Christian. John Jay was one of the committee in that earliest congress, who drew and reported the address to the people of Great Britain. I was assured, in very early life, that he had a special share in its composition. At any rate, it bears the impression of his genius, and it is a production that stands without a rival. The public papers of that congress were, all of them, in every point of view, of a masterly character. Lord Chatham declared in his place, in the House of Lords, that those productions had never been surpassed in any age or nation, for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion.

The delegates to the second continental congress, which met in May, 1775, were chosen by a provincial congress, which the people of the colony had already created, and which was held in this city, in April of that year, and had virtually assumed the powers of government. The names of the delegates from this colony, to this second congress, were, John Jay, John Alsop, James Duane, Philip Schuyler, George Clinton, Lewis Morris, and Robert R. Livingston; and the weight of their talents and character may be inferred from the fact, that Mr. Jay, Mr. Livingston, Mr. Duane, and Mr. Schuyler, were early placed upon committees, charged with the most arduous and responsible duties.* We find Washington and Schuyler associated together in the committee, appointed on the 14th of June, 1775, to prepare rules and regulations for the government of the army. This association of those great men, commenced at such a critical moment, was the beginning of a mutual confidence, respect, and admiration, which continued, with uninterrupted and unabated vividness, during the remainder of their lives. An allusion is made to this friendship in the memoir of a former president of this society, and the allusion is remarkable for its strength and pathos. After mentioning General Schuyler, he adds, "I have placed thee, my friend, by the side of him who knew thee; thy intelligence to discern, thy zeal to promote thy country's good, and knowing thee, prized thee. Let this be thy eulogy. I add,

* Journals of Congress, vol. i. 99. 106.

and with truth, peculiarly thine—content it should be mine to have expressed it.”*

The congress of this colony, during the years 1775 and 1776, had to meet difficulties and dangers almost sufficient to subdue the firmest resolution. The population of the colony was short of 200,000 souls. It had a vast body of disaffected inhabitants within its own bosom. It had numerous tribes of hostile savages on its extended frontier. The bonds of society seemed to have been broken up, and society itself resolved into its primitive elements. There was no civil government but such as had been introduced by the provincial congress, and county committees, as temporary expedients. It had an enemy's province in the rear, strengthened by large and well-appointed forces. It had an open and exposed sea-port, without any adequate means to defend it. In the summer of 1776, the state was actually invaded, not only upon our Canadian, but upon our Atlantic frontier, by a formidable fleet and army, calculated by the power that sent them, to be sufficient to annihilate at once all our infant republics.

In the midst of this appalling storm, the virtue of our people, animated by a host of intrepid patriots, the mention of whose names is enough to kindle enthusiasm in the breasts of the present generation, remained glowing, unmoved, and invincible. It would be difficult to find any other people who have been put to a severer test, or on trial gave higher proofs of courage and capacity,

On the 19th of June, 1775, Philip Schuyler was appointed by Congress the third Major General in the armies of the United Colonies; and such was his singular promptitude, that in eleven days from his appointment, we find him in actual service, corresponding with congress from a distance, on business that required and received immediate attention. In July, 1775, he was placed at the head of a Board of Commissioners for the northern department, and empowered to employ all the troops in that department at his discretion, subject to the future orders of the commander-in-chief. He was authorized, if he should find it practicable and expedient, to take possession of St. Johns and Montreal, and pursue any other measures in Canada having a tendency, in his judgment, to promote the peace and security of the United Colonies.

* The Memoir of Judge Benson, from which this is extracted, has never met with the reception due to its intrinsic merits. This has probably arisen from the style and manner peculiar to that venerable man, whose habit has been to treat matters of fact with the dryness, precision, and severity of a special pleader. But the Memoir is nevertheless replete with shrewd remarks, sound principles, just criticism, keen satire, and ardent patriotism.

In September, 1775, General Schuyler was acting under positive instructions to enter Canada, and he proceeded, with Generals Montgomery and Wooster under his command, to the Isle au Noix. He had at that time become extremely ill, and he was obliged to leave the command of the expedition to devolve upon General Montgomery. The latter, under his orders, captured the garrisons of Chambly and St. Johns, and pressed forward to Montreal and Quebec. Montreal was entered on the 12th of November, 1775, by the troops under the immediate orders of Montgomery, and in the same month a committee from congress was appointed to confer with General Schuyler, relative to raising troops in Canada for the possession and security of that province. His activity, skill, and zeal shone conspicuously throughout that arduous northern campaign; and his unremitting correspondence with congress received the most prompt and marked consideration.

While the expedition under Montgomery was employed in Canada, General Schuyler was called to exercise his influence and power in another quarter of his military district. On the 30th December, 1775, he was ordered to disarm the disaffected inhabitants of Tryon County, then under the influence of Sir John Johnson; and on the 18th of January following, he made a treaty with the disaffected portion of the people in that western part of the state. The continental congress were so highly satisfied with his conduct in that delicate and meritorious service, as to declare, by a special resolution, that he had executed his trust with fidelity, prudence, and despatch; and they ordered a publication of the narrative of his march in the depth of winter, into the regions bordering on the middle and upper Mohawk. The duties imposed upon that officer were so various, multiplied, and incessant, as to require rapid movements sufficient to distract and confound an ordinary mind. Thus, on the 30th of December, 1775, he was ordered to disarm the tories in Tryon county. On the 8th of January, 1776, he was ordered to have the river St. Lawrence, above and below Quebec, well explored. On the 25th of January, he was ordered to have the fortress of Ticonderoga repaired and made defensible; and on the 17th of February, he was directed to take the command of the forces, and conduct the military operations at the city of New-York. All these cumulative and conflicting orders from congress were made upon him in the course of six weeks, and they were occasioned by the embarrassments and distress of the times.*

In March, 1776, congress changed their plan of operations, and directed General Schuyler to establish his head quarters at

* Journals of Congress, vols. i. and ii.

Albany, and superintend the army destined for Canada. He was instructed to take such orders as he should deem expedient, respecting the very perplexing and all-important subject of the supplies for the troops in Canada; and those orders as to the supplies were repeated in April, and again in May, 1776. The duty of procuring supplies, though less splendid in its effects, is often more effectual to the safety and success of an army than prowess in the field. General Schuyler, by his thorough business habits, his precise attention to details, and by his skill and science in every duty connected with the equipment of an army, was admirably fitted to be at the head of the commissariate; and he gave life and vigour to every branch of the service. His versatile talents, equally adapted to investigation and action, rendered his merits as an officer of transcendent value.

On the 14th of June, 1776, he was ordered by congress to hold a treaty with the Six Nations, and engage them in the interest of the colonies, and to treat with them on the principles, and in the decisive manner, which he had suggested. His preparations for taking immediate possession of Fort Stanwix, and erecting a fortification there, received the approbation of congress, and their records afford the most satisfactory evidence that his comprehensive and accurate mind had anticipated and suggested the most essential measures, which he afterwards diligently executed throughout the whole northern department. But within three days after the order for the treaty, congress directed his operations to a different quarter of his command. He was ordered on the 17th of June, to clear Wood Creek, and construct a lock upon the creek at Skeensborough, (now Whitehall,) and to take the level of the waters falling into the Hudson at Fort Edward, and into Wood Creek. There can be no doubt that those orders were all founded upon his previous suggestions, and they afford demonstrative proof of the views entertained by him, at that early day, of the practicability and importance of canal navigation. He was likewise directed to cause armed vessels to be built, so as to secure the mastery of the waters of the northern lakes. He was to judge of the expediency of a temporary fortification or intrenched camp on the heights opposite Ticonderoga. Captain Graydon visited General Schuyler early in the summer of 1776, at his head-quarters on Lake George; and he speaks of him, in the very interesting *Memoirs of his own Life*, as an officer thoroughly devoted to business, and being, at the same time, a gentleman of polished and courteous manners. On the 1st of August following, he was on the Upper Mohawk, providing for its defence and security, and again in October we find him

on the upper Hudson, and calling upon the Eastern States for their militia.

There can be no doubt that the northern frontier, in the campaign of 1776, was indebted for its extraordinary quiet and security, to the ceaseless activity of General Schuyler. At the close of that year he was further instructed to build a floating battery on the lake, and a fort on Mount Independence, and also to strengthen the works at Fort Stanwix.

In the midst of such conflicting and harassing services, he had excited much popular jealousy and ill will, arising from the energy of his character, and the dignity of his deportment. He was likewise disgusted at what he deemed injustice, in the irregularity of appointing other and junior officers in separate and independent commands within what was considered to be his military district. He accordingly, in October, 1776, tendered to congress the resignation of his commission. But when congress came to investigate his services, they found them, says the historian of Washington,* far to exceed in value any estimate which had been made of them. They declared that they could not dispense with his services during the then situation of affairs; *and they directed the president of congress to request him to continue in his command*, and they declared their high sense of his services, and their unabated confidence in his attachment to the cause of freedom.

On the 9th of July, 1776, the provincial congress of the colony ratified the Declaration of Independence, and they immediately assumed the title of the Convention of this state. On motion of Gouverneur Morris, seconded by William Duer, a committee was appointed, on the 1st of August, to prepare and report the form of a constitution; but it was not reported and finally adopted until the 20th of April, 1777. The deliberations of the convention were conducted under the excitement of great public anxiety and constant alarm; and that venerable instrument, which was destined to be our guardian and pride, and to command the confidence and attachment of the people for upwards of forty years, was produced amidst the hurry and tumult of arms. The convention was constantly changing its place of residence to meet the exigencies of the day. From this city it removed successively to Harlem, to the White Plains, to Fishkill, to Poughkeepsie, and to Kingston. The members were harassed by variety of avocation and duty. Some were with the troops in the field; others were members of the continental congress; others were absorbed in attention to local concerns, and the wants of their exiled families. General Woodhull, who acted a noble part in the colonial assembly,

* Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. iii. 231.

and was president of the New-York Convention when it ratified the Declaration of Independence, commanded the Long Island militia, and was slain by the enemy on Long Island, at the close of the battle, in August, 1776. The draft of the constitution was in the hand-writing of Mr. Jay, and it was reported by Mr. Duane. Those individuals, together with Gouverneur Morris and Robert R. Livingston, were probably among the most efficient professional members of the convention in the production of the instrument; though the names of other members stand in bold relief upon the records of our revolutionary contest, for their wisdom in council, and their energy in action.

When the constitution was promulgated, and the convention were about to dissolve, they created a Council of Safety; and by their resolution of the 8th of May, 1777, they invested that council *with all the powers requisite for the safety and preservation of the state*, until a governor and legislature should be duly chosen, and in a condition to act under the provisions of the constitution. The council, thus clothed for a season with absolute power, consisted of only fifteen men; but they were not sunshine patriots. Their souls were formed of nobler materials. They had every claim to public confidence, and they did not abuse it. Their names, in the order in which they stand in the resolution of the convention, were, John Morrin Scott, Robert R. Livingston, Christopher Tappen, Abraham Yates, junior, Gouverneur Morris, Zephaniah Platt, John Jay, Charles De Witt, Robert Harper, Jacob Cuyler, Thomas Tredwell, Pierre Van Cortlandt, Matthew Cantine, John Sloss Hobart, and Jonathan D. Tompkins.

A governor and legislature were chosen in the summer of 1777, and in that trying season, there was not a county in this state, as it then existed, which escaped a visit from the arms of the enemy. To add to the embarrassment of our councils in the extremity of their distress, the inhabitants of the north-east part of the state, (now Vermont,) which had been represented in the convention, and just then ingrafted into the constitution, under the names of the counties of Cumberland and Gloucester, renounced their allegiance, and set up for an independent state. On the 30th of June, in that year, they were knocking at the door of congress for a recognition of their independence, and an admission into the Union.

The memorable campaign of 1777 was opened by an expedition of the enemy from New-York to Danbury in Connecticut, and the destruction of large quantities of provisions and military means collected and deposited in that town. In the northern quarter, General Burgoyne advanced from Canada, through the lakes, with a well-appointed army of 10,000 men, and for a

time he dissipated all opposition, and swept every obstacle before him. General Schuyler was still in the command of the whole northern department, and he made every exertion to check the progress of the enemy. He visited in person the different forts, and used the utmost activity in obtaining supplies to enable them to sustain a siege. While at Albany, (which was his head-quarters as previously fixed by congress,) busy in accelerating the equipment and march of troops, Ticonderoga being assailed, was suddenly evacuated by General St. Clair. General Schuyler met on the upper Hudson the news of the retreat, and he displayed, says the candid and accurate historian of Washington,* the utmost diligence and judgment in that gloomy state of things. He effectually impeded the navigation of Wood Creek. He rendered the roads impassable. He removed every kind of provision and stores beyond the reach of the enemy. He summoned the militia of New-York and New-England to his assistance; and he answered the proclamation of Burgoyne by a counter proclamation, equally addressed to the hopes and fears of the country. Congress, by their resolution of the 17th of July, 1777, approved of all the acts of General Schuyler, in reference to the army at Ticonderoga. But the evacuation of that fortress excited great discontent in the United States, and General Schuyler did not escape his share of the popular clamour, and he was made a victim to appease it. It was deemed expedient to recall the general officers in the northern army, and in the month of August he was superseded in the command of that department by the arrival of General Gates. The laurels which he was in preparation to win by his judicious and distinguished efforts, and which he would very shortly have attained, were by that removal intercepted from his brow.

But the advance of General Burgoyne's army was not the only evil that awaited us. Col. St. Leger, with a large force of regulars and Indians, pressed upon our western border, and invested Fort Schuyler, at the head of the Mohawk. The whole southern district of the state was at the same time in secure possession of the enemy. There was never, perhaps, in the history of a free people struggling for their liberties, a more portentous crisis. We were driven in on every side. The extremities of the state were destroyed. There was no pulsation but at the heart. Every thing seemed to be lost but hope, virtue, and trust in the providence of God. In that gloomy season, the country rose, met, and repelled the danger, with an ardour and vigour that can scarcely be con-

* Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. iii. 247.

ceived.* Brigadier General Herkimer commanded the militia on the Mohawk, and in his efforts to relieve Fort Schuyler, he was attacked in the Oriskany woods by a detachment of the enemy under Sir John Johnson, and after a sanguinary and disastrous conflict, he fell fighting gallantly in defence of his country. His memory was honoured with the deep regrets of his countrymen, and the Congress of the United States voted a monument to his fame. Fort Schuyler, under the command of Colonel Gansevoort, was defended with great bravery, perseverance, and success. Colonel Marinus Willet distinguished himself likewise, by his zeal and daring enterprise during the operations of the siege, and the enemy were compelled to retire with loss and disgrace. Those distinguished officers received a warm eulogy from congress, and strong public expressions of gratitude from their own state.

George Clinton, who had recently been elected governor, met the legislature, for the first time, at Kingston, on the 10th of September. It was then and there that the constitution of this independent state first received the principle of life. But so rapid and so violent were the vicissitudes of events, that, about a month from that time, the village in which they were assembled was burnt by the enemy. The members of the legislature were dispersed in a few days after the session was opened, and the governor flew to the defence of the posts in the Highlands, to the command of which he had been assigned by congress in the spring preceding. They were assailed by a very superior land and naval force under Sir Henry Clinton, and when a summons for surrender was sent to Fort Montgomery, the governor peremptorily refused. He defied an assault, and made a gallant resistance.† It is well known that the fort was taken at the point of the bayonet, and in the midst of the confusion of the evening, the governor and a considerable part of the garrison secured their retreat. This was the first time that this eminent man fairly disclosed to his countrymen

* The convention of this state, at the close of the year 1776, had prepared the minds of the people for the trials of the ensuing campaign, by the admirable Address to their constituents, which they published at Fishkill, on the 23d of December of that year. It was understood at the time to have been drafted by Mr. Jay. The object was to cheer the country in its season of distress, and to rouse it to vigorous exertion. The address was plain, sententious, and solemn, fitting the object and the crisis; but it carried its appeal with irresistible force to the noblest affections of the human breast, and the strongest principles of action.

† The enemy sustained a severe loss, at least in the fall of Count Grabowski, a Polish nobleman, and aid to the British commander, and in the still greater loss of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell and Major Alexander Grant. The latter was an accomplished officer, and in the war of 1756, was a lieutenant in the 42d Highland regiment.

his military spirit. I knew him in the midst of the American war. He had a boldness and inflexibility of purpose, and decision and simplicity of character, which resembled the hardy sons of antiquity in the best days of Roman freedom, when her sages and heroes displayed the majestic port and stern defiance of "the lords of human kind."*

But the successive defeats and final capture of Burgoyne and his army at Saratoga, dissipated the angry elements which menaced our destruction. The independence of the United States was from that time forward, regarded by us, and by the friendly nations of Europe, as immoveably established. The history of the campaign of 1777, and especially the condition of this state at the lowest point of its depression, the energy with which it rose, the efforts of our heroes, and the spirit of our people, would together form one of the noblest subjects for the graphic pen of the historian. I can speak of the events of that year with some of the impressions of a cotemporary witness. I heard the noise and fury of the assault upon the fortresses on the Hudson; † and I perfectly recollect the general distress, terror, and bitterness of grief, that were visible in the earlier part of the campaign, as well as the tones of joy, admiration, and gratitude, at our final and triumphant deliverance.

Having brought this rapid review of prominent events in our domestic history, down to within time of memory, the limits of this discourse will not permit me to continue it. My desire has been to place in fresh remembrance before you, the merits of your ancestors; and to rescue some of their names, though it should be but for a moment, from the dust and "dumb forgetfulness" of the record. The distinguished men of the last age have nearly all passed away, and a new generation have occupied their places, and are enjoying the rich inheritance of public freedom and prosperity, bequeathed to them by the fathers of the revolution. Amid such a bright constellation of worthies, it is difficult to discriminate. General Montgomery, General Woodhull, and General Herkimer, sealed their devotion to their country with their blood. Major General Alexan-

* In the full-length portrait of the elder Clinton, painted by Colonel Trumbull, perhaps forty years ago, and in which Fort Montgomery, and the wild scenery around it, appear on the back ground, the painter, with very great skill and felicity, has thrown into the countenance and air of the hero, touches of the character, which I have here attempted to pourtray, from my own vivid recollections.

† I then resided almost in the neighbourhood of those scenes, for I was born and nurtured in one of the beautiful and picturesque valleys of the Highlands. Its "humble happiness," and portions of its sacred soil, have never been seen or remembered by me without the deepest interest.

der M'Dougall caused his early zeal and patriotism to be recorded, even on the colonial journals; and after the war had commenced, he rose rapidly in the military service of the United States, and congress declared, by a special resolution, their sense of his zeal and magnanimity.* John Jay, Robert R. Livingston, and Gouverneur Morris, not only received marks of the highest trust and confidence in the service of this, and of the United States, but at subsequent periods they displayed their skill and fidelity as representatives of the nation at foreign courts. Egbert Benson rendered eminent service to this state throughout the whole period of the American war. He was zealous, firm, active, and extensively useful, from the very beginning of the contest. In 1777 he was appointed Attorney-General, and in that office, in the legislature and in congress, his devotion to the public interest was unremitted. The value of his services as a member of the legislature throughout the war, was beyond all price; and in the able, constant, accurate, and faithful discharge of the duties of that station, he has scarcely had an equal in the legislative annals of this state.

Of the members of the provincial congress in 1776, in addition to those who have already been mentioned, the names of John Morrin Scott, Philip Livingston, Abraham Ten Broeck, Leonard Gansevoort, Robert Yates, Pierre Van Cortlandt, John Sloss Hobart, Zephaniah Platt, Ezra L'Hommedieu, Isaac Roosevelt, Thomas Tredwell, Robert Van Rensselaer, John Taylor, David Gelston, and John Broome, may be specially noticed, as receiving, in subsequent periods of our history, prominent and continued marks of public confidence and esteem. There may be others of equal merit whose names I may have unintentionally omitted, and I am obliged to confine myself to the mention of those leading political and military characters whom I have found, by my own imperfect researches, to have left on record some striking memorial of public honour and confidence as early as the year 1777. There were many other individuals of this state, then in comparatively subordinate stations in the civil and military service, who afterwards rose to distinguished and deserved eminence. If I depart from the limits which I have prescribed for myself, and select any one of them, my apology is to be found in the illustrious name of Alexander Hamilton. He was, even at that early day, the confidential aid of Washington; but it was not until the latter part of the American war, that he began to attract general attention, and to display, to the admiration of his countrymen, the matchless resources of his mighty mind. He was chosen a member of congress in July, 1782, and he took

* Journals of Congress, vol. vii. 63.

his seat for the first time in November following. His efforts to reanimate the languid powers of the confederation, and to clothe congress with some essential credit and resources, were great, splendid, but unavailing. From that period his time and talents were almost exclusively consecrated to the service of the United States; and it would have gratified me exceedingly, if the plan of this discourse would have permitted, to have attempted to render some tribute of gratitude to his memory, by a recital of his unrivalled exertions to give a constitution, and financial credit, and security and prosperity, to the Union. His transcendent services to the nation are sufficient to render his name immortal.

John Jay, Egbert Benson, John Taylor, Thomas Tredwell, and Marinus Willet, are the only persons, among those revolutionary characters, whom I have hitherto mentioned, that are now living; and I perceive that one of them has this very week been selected to execute a high public trust.* All these venerable remnants of the last age, may be considered as now living, in comparative seclusion, on the very verge of human life, waiting, with a Christian's hope, for their "bright reversion in the skies." But their fame accompanies them, and "enlightens even the obscurity of their retreat."†

Suffer me to allude again to the history of General Schuyler. He was too pre-eminent a character to allow any portion of his valuable life to be left unnoticed.

* John Taylor was chosen an elector of the President of the United States, by the electoral college at Albany, on the 2d of December, 1828. He was formerly first judge of the city and county of Albany, and continued in that office until he was obliged to retire from it, about twenty-six years ago, in consequence of being disqualified to hold the office any longer by arriving at sixty years of age. He was for many years afterwards Lieut. Governor, and in that character he was, *ex-officio*, President of the Senate, and President of the Court of Errors and Appeals, and he continued to occupy the office until he was upwards of eighty years of age. His case showed the striking inconsistency of the constitution, which would allow a person to preside over the Court of Errors at the age of eighty, and yet held him disqualified by age at sixty to preside over a county court. Thomas Tredwell, also an Octogenarian, was for many years Judge of the Court of Probates, and he at present fills the office of Surrogate of Clinton county. He was always distinguished for singular simplicity of character, and I received satisfactory evidence, even as far back as the American war, that he had well founded pretensions to scholarship and classical taste.

† In looking over this Address for re-publication, it occurred to the Editor, that all the revolutionary characters alluded to in it as being then living, have since died, and all of them at very advanced ages:—

John Jay, in the year 1829,	83
John Taylor	87
Marinus Willet	82
Thomas Tredwell, in 1831	88
Gen. P. Van Cortlandt	82
Richard Varick	78
Egbert Benson in 1833	87

General Schuyler felt acutely the discredit of being recalled in the most critical and interesting period of the campaign of 1777; and when the labour and activity of making preparations to repair the disasters of it had been expended by him; and when an opportunity was opening, as he observed, for that resistance and retaliation which might bring glory upon our arms. If error be attributable to the evacuation of Ticonderoga, says the historian of Washington,* no portion of it was committed by General Schuyler. But his removal, though unjust and severe as respected himself, was rendered expedient, according to Chief Justice Marshall, as a sacrifice to the prejudices of New-England.

He was present at the capture of Burgoyne, but without any personal command; and the urbanity of his manners, and the chivalric magnanimity of his character, smarting as he was under the extent and severity of his pecuniary losses, are attested by General Burgoyne himself, in his speech in 1778, in the British House of Commons. He there declared that, by his orders, "a very good dwelling-house, exceeding large store-houses, great saw-mills, and other out-buildings, to the value altogether perhaps of £10,000 sterling," belonging to General Schuyler, at Saratoga, were destroyed by fire a few days before the surrender. He said further, that one of the first persons he saw, after the convention was signed, was General Schuyler, and when expressing to him his regret at the event which had happened to his property, General Schuyler desired him "to think no more of it, and that the occasion justified it, according to the principles and rules of war. He did more," said Burgoyne, "he sent an aid-de-camp† to conduct me to Albany, in order, as he expressed it, to procure better quarters than a stranger might be able to find. That gentleman conducted me to a very elegant house, and, to my great surprise, presented me to Mrs. Schuyler and her family. In that house I remained during my whole stay in Albany, with a table of more than twenty covers for me and my friends, and every other possible demonstration of hospitality."‡

I have several times had the same relation in substance from General Schuyler himself, and he said that he remained behind at Saratoga, under the pretext of taking care of the remains of his property, but in reality to avoid giving fresh occasion for calumny and jealousies, by appearing in person with Burgoyne at his own house. It was not until the autumn of 1778, that

* 3 Marshall, 274.

† The person alluded to by General Burgoyne was Col. Richard Varick, then the military secretary to General Schuyler, and now President of the American Bible Society. (Since deceased.—Ed.)

‡ Parliamentary History, vol. xix. p. 1182.

the conduct of General Schuyler, in the campaign of 1777, was submitted to the investigation of a court-martial. He was acquitted of every charge with the highest honour, and the sentence was confirmed by congress. He shortly afterwards, upon his earnest and repeated solicitation, had leave to retire from the army, and he devoted the remainder of his life to the service of his country in its political councils.

If the military life of General Schuyler was inferior in brilliancy to that of some others of his countrymen, none of them ever surpassed him in fidelity, activity, and devotedness to the service. The characteristic of all his measures was utility. They bore the stamp and unerring precision of practical science. There was nothing complicated in his character. It was chaste and severe simplicity; and take him for all in all, he was one of the wisest and most efficient men, both in military and civil life, that the state or the nation has produced.

He had been elected to congress in 1777, and he was re-elected in each of the three following years. On his return to congress after the termination of his military life, his talents, experience, and energy, were put in immediate requisition; and in November, 1779, he was appointed to confer with General Washington, on the state of the southern department. In 1781, he was in the senate of this state; and wherever he was placed, and whatever might be the business before him, he gave the utmost activity to measures, and left upon them the impression of his prudence and sagacity. In 1789, he was elected to a seat in the first senate of the United States, and when his term of service expired in congress, he was replaced in the senate of this state. In 1792, he was very active in digesting and bringing to maturity that early and great measure of state policy—the establishment of companies for inland lock navigation. The whole suggestion was the product of his fertile and calculating mind, ever busy in schemes for the public welfare. He was placed at the head of the direction of both of the navigation companies, and his mind was ardently directed for years towards the execution of those liberal plans of internal improvement.* In 1796, he urged in his place in the senate, and afterwards published, in a pamphlet form,† his plan for the im-

* The act of the legislature of this state of the 9th of March, 1793, ch. 49, displayed unbounded confidence in General Schuyler. It amended the law relative to lock navigation, after reciting that "the President of the Board of Directors of the Western and Northern Inland Lock Navigation Companies, in their behalf, had signified to the legislature, that, in his opinion, the alterations therein specified, might be made without material injury."

† The pamphlet was entitled, "Remarks on the Revenue of the State of New-York, by Philip Schuyler, a member of the Senate of that State. Albany, 1796." The pamphlet was founded on a series of arithmetical calculations, and General Schuyler was profoundly versed in mathematical science. He had no superior in aptitude for such investigations.

provement of the revenue of this state, and in 1797, his plan was almost literally adopted, and to that we owe the institution of the office of comptroller. In 1797, he was unanimously elected, by the two houses of our legislature, a senator in congress; and he took leave of the senate of this state in a liberal and affecting address, which was inserted at large upon their journals.

But the life of this great man was now drawing to a close. I had formed and cultivated a personal acquaintance with General Schuyler, while a member of the legislature in 1792, and again in 1796; and from 1799 to his death in the autumn of 1804, I was in habits of constant and friendly intimacy with him, and was honoured with the kindest and most grateful attentions. His spirits were cheerful, his conversation most eminently instructive, his manners gentle and courteous, and his whole deportment tempered with grace and dignity. His faculties seemed to retain their unimpaired vigour and untiring activity; though he had evidently lost some of his constitutional ardour of temperament and vehemence of feeling. He was sobered by age, chastened by affliction, broken by disease; and yet nothing could surpass the interest excited by the mild radiance of the evening of his days.

It was observed at the beginning of this discourse, that we had illustrious annals in this state to appeal to, and I humbly hope that I have made good the assertion. The noble monument erecting on Bunker's Hill to the memory of her early patriots, does honour to the pride and zeal of the sons of New-England; but the records of this state, in the hands of some future historian, are capable of elevating a loftier monument, and one of less perishable materials, on which, not the rays of the setting sun, but the rays of a nation's glory, as long as letters shall endure, will continue "to play and linger on its summit." I do not wish, however, to cherish or inculcate that patriotism which is purely local or exclusive. My object is more disinterested and liberal. It is to enkindle that generous zeal and ardent public virtue, with which Scipio, and other citizens of Rome, are said to have been inspired, as often as they beheld the domestic images of their ancestors. The glory of each state is the common property of the nation, and our freedom was established by the united will, and consolidated efforts, of every part of the Union. Our responsibility for the wise and temperate use of civil liberty, is of general obligation; and it is our example as a nation that has sensibly affected the civilized world. The image of personal freedom, of order, of security, of happiness, and of national prosperity, which our country presents, has had its influence wherever learning and commerce have penetrated. When our revolution began, despotism prevailed every where,

except in Great Britain and her colonies ; or if civil liberty existed at all on the continent of Europe, it dwelt in timid retirement, in the romantic valleys of Switzerland, within the shade of the loftiest Alps. But we have lived to witness a visible improvement in the institutions and policy of nations, after the tempest of the French revolution had subsided, and its ravages were repaired. It left the nations upon which it had spent its fury, in a better and healthier condition than it found them. This was some compensation for the injustice and the miseries which it had produced. Limited monarchies, resting on a recognition of popular rights, and constitutional restrictions upon power, and invigorated by the admission of the principle of representation, are now established in the kingdoms of France and the Netherlands. The energy of the press and of popular instruction, and the free and liberal spirit of the age, control or mitigate the evils of a bad administration, or chastise its abuses in every department of government, and they carry their influence to the highest ranks and summits of society. Those mighty causes will gradually enlarge the sphere of their action, and produce freer institutions, and a better administration of justice, in every part of Europe. At any rate, we are assured that in our own hemisphere, from the head of the gulf of Mexico, through all the good and bad forms of government in Spanish and Portuguese America, down to "the farthest verge of the green earth," the force of our great example is strongly felt, and the eye is turned, with respect and reverence, to the character of our power, and the splendour of our rising greatness.

II.

THE
VOYAGE
OF
JOHN DE VERRAZZANO,
ALONG THE COAST OF
NORTH AMERICA,
FROM CAROLINA TO NEWFOUNDLAND,
A. D. 1524.

Translated from the original Italian,

BY JOSEPH G. COGSWELL, ESQ.,
Member of the N. Y. Historical Society, &c.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE,

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THE following paper is a new translation of the letter written by Verazzano, on his return from his first voyage to the Western Continent, giving an account of his discoveries to Francis I. of France, by whose orders he had undertaken it. It is made from a copy of the original manuscript, in the Magliabecchian Library at Florence, which was presented to the New-York Historical Society, by G. W. Greene, Esq., now Consul of the United States at Rome. A translation of part of the same letter is printed in the first volume of the Society's Collections, which was taken from Hakluyt, who followed the original as given by Ramusio; but as that varies in substance in some few instances from the Magliabecchian, and as Hakluyt's translation is throughout obscure and antiquated in language, it seems requisite to publish the one which has been made from the Society's copy. This letter is in itself highly interesting and important, and is rendered still more so from the fact of its being the earliest original account in existence of the Atlantic coast of the United States, nearly the whole extent of which was visited by Verazzano during the voyage described in it. It is worthy of remark, that the name by which the western continent is now known, is not used by Verazzano in the account of his visit to it, owing, probably, to the recent and not universal adoption of it; it is possible even that he was ignorant of its having been applied.

With respect to the comparative authenticity of the manuscript used by Ramusio, and that from which our copy is taken, we have nothing conclusive to offer; we can only say, that the internal evidence is greatly in favour of the latter. Mr. Greene, who took up the whole subject, in an article in the *North American Review*, for October, 1837, remarks, that there are

in Ramusio such variations from the Magliabecchian manuscript, as can only be accounted for by supposing that the editor must have worked the whole piece over anew, correcting the errors of language upon his own authority. Something of the kind was evidently done; the language of the two is very different, and that used in the manuscript from which the present translation is made, has strong marks of being in the very form in which it was moulded by Verazzano. It is throughout just as sailors of little education commonly write; little or no regard is paid to grammar; the sentences run into each other; the subjects are thrown together confusedly; parenthetical clauses constantly break the thread of the narrative, and there are no points from beginning to end. From such a labyrinth of words, it is not easy to affirm that the precise meaning has always been unravelled, but all possible pains have been taken to render the Italian original as exactly and as clearly as the barbarous style in which that is written would admit. The cosmographical description at the close is not found in Hakluyt, and it was not published in the volume of Collections before cited; it is now added, rather on account of the curious evidence it furnishes of the state of nautical science at that time, than of any valuable knowledge to be drawn from it.

J. G. C.

NEW-YORK, JAN. 9th, 1841.

VOYAGE, & c.

CAPTAIN JOHN DE VERAZZANO to His Most Serene Majesty
the KING OF FRANCE, writes :

Since the tempests which we encountered on the northern coasts, I have not written to your most Serene and Christian Majesty concerning the four ships sent out by your orders on the ocean to discover new lands, because I thought you must have been before apprized of all that had happened to us—that we had been compelled by the impetuous violence of the winds to put into Britany in distress with only the two ships Normandy and Dolphin ; and that after having repaired these ships, we made a cruise in them, well armed, along the coast of Spain, as your Majesty must have heard, and also of our new plan of continuing our begun voyage with the Dolphin alone ; from this voyage being now returned, I proceed to give your Majesty an account of our discoveries.

On the 17th of last January we set sail from a desolate rock near the island of Madeira, belonging to his most Serene Majesty the King of Portugal, with fifty men, having provisions sufficient for eight months, arms and other warlike munition and naval stores. Sailing westward with a light and pleasant easterly breeze, in twenty-five days we ran eight hundred leagues. On the 24th of February we encountered as violent a hurricane as any ship ever weathered, from which we escaped unhurt by the divine assistance and goodness, to the praise of the glorious and fortunate name of our good ship, that had been able to support the violent tossing of the waves. Pursuing our voyage towards the west, a little northwardly, in twenty-four days more, having run four hundred leagues, we reached a new country, which had never before been seen by any one, either in ancient or modern times. At first it appeared to be very low, but on approaching it to within a quarter of a league from the shore we perceived, by the great fires near the coast, that it was inhabited. We perceived that it stretched to the south, and coasted along in that direction in search of some port, in which we might come to anchor, and examine into the nature of the country, but for fifty leagues we could find none in which we could lie securely. Seeing the coast still stretched to the south,

we resolved to change our course and stand to the northward, and as we still had the same difficulty, we drew in with the land and sent a boat on shore. Many people who were seen coming to the sea-side fled at our approach, but occasionally stopping, they looked back upon us with astonishment, and some were at length induced, by various friendly signs, to come to us. These showed the greatest delight on beholding us, wondering at our dress, countenances and complexion. They then showed us by signs where we could more conveniently secure our boat, and offered us some of their provisions. That your Majesty may know all that we learned, while on shore, of their manners and customs of life, I will relate what we saw as briefly as possible. They go entirely naked, except that about the loins they wear skins of small animals like martens fastened by a girdle of plaited grass, to which they tie, all round the body, the tails of other animals hanging down to the knees; all other parts of the body and the head are naked. Some wear garlands similar to birds' feathers.

The complexion of these people is black, not much different from that of the Ethiopians; their hair is black and thick, and not very long, it is worn tied back upon the head in the form of a little tail. In person they are of good proportions, of middle stature, a little above our own, broad across the breast, strong in the arms, and well formed in the legs and other parts of the body; the only exception to their good looks is that they have broad faces, but not all, however, as we saw many that had sharp ones, with large black eyes and a fixed expression. They are not very strong in body, but acute in mind, active and swift of foot, as far as we could judge by observation. In these last two particulars they resemble the people of the east, especially those the most remote. We could not learn a great many particulars of their usages on account of our short stay among them and the distance of our ship from the shore.

We found not far from this people another whose mode of life we judged to be similar. The whole shore is covered with fine sand, about fifteen feet thick, rising in the form of little hills about fifty paces broad. Ascending farther, we found several arms of the sea which make in through inlets, washing the shores on both sides as the coast runs. An outstretched country appears at a little distance rising somewhat above the sandy shore in beautiful fields and broad plains, covered with immense forests of trees, more or less dense, too various in colours, and too delightful and charming in appearance to be described. I do not believe that they are like the Hercynian forest or the rough wilds of Scythia, and the northern regions full of vines and common trees, but adorned with palms, laurels, cypresses, and other varieties unknown in Europe, that send forth the sweet-

est fragrance to a great distance, but which we could not examine more closely for the reasons before given, and not on account of any difficulty in traversing the woods, which, on the contrary, are easily penetrated.

As the "East" stretches around this country, I think it cannot be devoid of the same medicinal and aromatic drugs, and various riches of gold and the like, as is denoted by the colour of the ground. It abounds also in animals, as deer, stags, hares, and many other similar, and with a great variety of birds for every kind of pleasant and delightful sport. It is plentifully supplied with lakes and ponds of running water, and being in the latitude of 34. the air is salubrious, pure and temperate, and free from the extremes of both heat and cold. There are no violent winds in these regions, the most prevalent are the north-west and west. In summer, the season in which we were there, the sky is clear, with but little rain: if fogs and mists are at any time driven in by the south wind, they are instantaneously dissipated, and at once it becomes serene and bright again. The sea is calm, not boisterous, and its waves are gentle. Although the whole coast is low and without harbours, it is not dangerous for navigation, being free from rocks and bold, so that within four or five fathoms from the shore there is twenty-four feet of water at all times of tide, and this depth constantly increases in a uniform proportion. The holding ground is so good that no ship can part her cable, however violent the wind, as we proved by experience; for while riding at anchor on the coast, we were overtaken by a gale in the beginning of March, when the winds are high, as is usual in all countries, we found our anchor broken before it started from its hold or moved at all.

We set sail from this place, continuing to coast along the shore, which we found stretching out to the west (east?); the inhabitants being numerous, we saw everywhere a multitude of fires. While at anchor on this coast, there being no harbour to enter, we sent the boat on shore with twenty-five men to obtain water, but it was not possible to land without endangering the boat, on account of the immense high surf thrown up by the sea, as it was an open roadstead. Many of the natives came to the beach, indicating by various friendly signs that we might trust ourselves on shore. One of their noble deeds of friendship deserves to be made known to your Majesty. A young sailor was attempting to swim ashore through the surf to carry them some knick-knacks, as little bells, looking-glasses, and other like trifles; when he came near three or four of them he tossed the things to them, and turned about to get back to the boat, but he was thrown over by the waves, and so dashed by them that he lay as it were dead upon the beach. When these people saw

him in this situation, they ran and took him up by the head, legs and arms, and carried him to a distance from the surf; the young man, finding himself borne off in this way, uttered very loud shrieks in fear and dismay, while they answered as they could in their language, showing him that he had no cause for fear. Afterwards they laid him down at the foot of a little hill, when they took off his shirt and trowsers, and examined him, expressing the greatest astonishment at the whiteness of his skin. Our sailors in the boat seeing a great fire made up, and their companion placed very near it, full of fear, as is usual in all cases of novelty, imagined that the natives were about to roast him for food. But as soon as he had recovered his strength after a short stay with them, showing by signs that he wished to return aboard, they hugged him with great affection, and accompanied him to the shore, then leaving him, that he might feel more secure, they withdrew to a little hill, from which they watched him until he was safe in the boat. This young man remarked that these people were black like the others, that they had shining skins, middle stature, and sharper faces, and very delicate bodies and limbs, and that they were inferior in strength, but quick in their minds; this is all that he observed of them.

Departing hence, and always following the shore, which stretched to the north, we came, in the space of fifty leagues, to another land, which appeared very beautiful and full of the largest forests. We approached it, and going ashore with twenty men, we went back from the coast about two leagues, and found that the people had fled and hid themselves in the woods for fear. By searching around we discovered in the grass a very old woman and a young girl of about eighteen or twenty, who had concealed themselves for the same reason; the old woman carried two infants on her shoulders, and behind her neck a little boy eight years of age; when we came up to them they began to shriek and make signs to the men who had fled to the woods. We gave them a part of our provisions, which they accepted with delight, but the girl would not touch any; every thing we offered to her being thrown down in great anger. We took the little boy from the old woman to carry with us to France, and would have taken the girl also, who was very beautiful and very tall, but it was impossible because of the loud shrieks she uttered as we attempted to lead her away; having to pass some woods, and being far from the ship, we determined to leave her and take the boy only. We found them fairer than the others, and wearing a covering made of certain plants, which hung down from the branches of the trees, tying them together with threads of wild hemp; their heads are without covering and of the same shape as the others. Their food is a kind of pulse which there abounds, different in colour and

size from ours, and of a very delicious flavour. Besides they take birds and fish for food, using snares and bows made of hard wood, with reeds for arrows, in the ends of which they put the bones of fish and other animals. The animals in these regions are wilder than in Europe from being continually molested by the hunters. We saw many of their boats made of one tree twenty feet long and four feet broad, without the aid of stone or iron or other kind of metal. In the whole country, for the space of two hundred leagues, which we visited, we saw no stone of any sort. To hollow out their boats they burn out as much of a log as is requisite, and also from the prow and stern to make them float well on the sea. The land, in situation, fertility and beauty, is like the other, abounding also in forests filled with various kinds of trees, but not of such fragrance, as it is more northern and colder.

We saw in this country many vines growing naturally, which entwine about the trees, and run up upon them as they do in the plains of Lombardy. These vines would doubtless produce excellent wine if they were properly cultivated and attended to, as we have often seen the grapes which they produce very sweet and pleasant, and not unlike our own. They must be held in estimation by them, as they carefully remove the shrubbery from around them, wherever they grow, to allow the fruit to ripen better. We found also wild roses, violets, lilies, and many sorts of plants and fragrant flowers different from our own. We cannot describe their habitations, as they are in the interior of the country, but from various indications we conclude they must be formed of trees and shrubs. We saw also many grounds for conjecturing that they often sleep in the open air, without any covering but the sky. Of their other usages we know nothing; we believe, however, that all the people we were among live in the same way.

After having remained here three days, riding at anchor on the coast, as we could find no harbour, we determined to depart, and coast along the shore to the north-east, keeping sail on the vessel only by day, and coming to anchor by night. After proceeding one hundred leagues, we found a very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea; from the sea to the estuary of the river, any ship heavily laden might pass, with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at anchor in a good berth, we would not venture up in our vessel, without a knowledge of the mouth; therefore we took the boat, and entering the river, we found the country on its banks well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with the feathers of birds of various colours. They came towards us with

evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration, and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat. We passed up this river, about half a league, when we found it formed a most beautiful lake three leagues in circuit, upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats, from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes who came to see us. All of a sudden, as is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must also contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals. Weighing anchor, we sailed fifty leagues towards the east, as the coast stretched in that direction, and always in sight of it; at length we discovered an island of a triangular form, about ten leagues from the mainland, in size about equal to the island of Rhodes, having many hills covered with trees, and well peopled, judging from the great number of fires which we saw all around its shores; we gave it the name of your Majesty's illustrious mother.

We did not land there, as the weather was unfavourable, but proceeded to another place, fifteen leagues distant from the island, where we found a very excellent harbour. Before entering it, we saw about twenty small boats full of people, who came about our ship, uttering many cries of astonishment, but they would not approach nearer than within fifty paces; stopping, they looked at the structure of our ship, our persons and dress, afterwards they all raised a loud shout together, signifying that they were pleased. By imitating their signs, we inspired them in some measure with confidence, so that they came near enough for us to toss to them some little bells and glasses, and many toys, which they took and looked at, laughing, and then came on board without fear. Among them were two kings more beautiful in form and stature than can possibly be described; one was about forty years old, the other about twenty-four, and they were dressed in the following manner: The oldest had a deer's skin around his body, artificially wrought in damask figures, his head was without covering, his hair was tied back in various knots; around his neck he wore a large chain ornamented with many stones of different colours. The young man was similar in his general appearance. This is the finest looking tribe, and the handsomest in their costumes, that we have found in our voyage. They exceed us in size, and they are of a very fair complexion (?); some of them incline more to a white (bronze?), and others to a tawny colour; their faces are sharp, their hair long and black, upon the adorning of which they bestow great pains; their eyes are black and sharp,

their expression mild and pleasant, greatly resembling the antique. I say nothing to your Majesty of the other parts of the body, which are all in good proportion, and such as belong to well-formed men. Their women are of the same form and beauty, very graceful, of fine countenances and pleasing appearance in manners and modesty ; they wear no clothing except a deer skin, ornamented like those worn by the men ; some wear very rich lynx skins upon their arms, and various ornaments upon their heads, composed of braids of hair, which also hang down upon their breasts on each side. Others wear different ornaments, such as the women of Egypt and Syria use. The older and the married people, both men and women, wear many ornaments in their ears, hanging down in the oriental manner. We saw upon them several pieces of wrought copper, which is more esteemed by them than gold, as this is not valued on account of its colour, but is considered by them as the most ordinary of the metals—yellow being the colour especially disliked by them ; azure and red are those in highest estimation with them. Of those things which we gave them, they prized most highly the bells, azure crystals, and other toys to hang in their ears and about their necks ; they do not value or care to have silk or gold stuffs, or other kinds of cloth, nor implements of steel or iron. When we showed them our arms, they expressed no admiration, and only asked how they were made ; the same was the case with the looking-glasses, which they returned to us, smiling, as soon as they had looked at them. They are very generous, giving away whatever they have. We formed a great friendship with them, and one day we entered into the port with our ship, having before rode at the distance of a league from the shore, as the weather was adverse. They came off to the ship with a number of their little boats, with their faces painted in divers colours, showing us real signs of joy, bringing us of their provisions, and signifying to us where we could best ride in safety with our ship, and keeping with us until we had cast anchor. We remained among them fifteen days, to provide ourselves with many things of which we were in want, during which time they came every day to see our ship, bringing with them their wives, of whom they were very careful ; for, although they came on board themselves, and remained a long while, they made their wives stay in the boats, nor could we ever get them on board by any entreaties or any presents we could make them. One of the two kings often came with his queen and many attendants, to see us for his amusement ; but he always stopped at the distance of about two hundred paces, and sent a boat to inform us of his intended visit, saying they would come and see our ship—this was done for safety, and as soon as they had an an-

swer from us they came off, and remained awhile to look around ; but on hearing the annoying cries of the sailors, the king sent the queen, with her attendants, in a very light boat, to wait, near an island a quarter of a league distant from us, while he remained a long time on board, talking with us by signs, and expressing his fanciful notions about every thing in the ship, and asking the use of all. After imitating our modes of salutation, and tasting our food, he courteously took leave of us. Sometimes, when our men staid two or three days on a small island, near the ship, for their various necessities, as sailors are wont to do, he came with seven or eight of his attendants, to inquire about our movements, often asking us if we intended to remain there long, and offering us every thing at his command, and then he would shoot with his bow, and run up and down with his people, making great sport for us. We often went five or six leagues into the interior, and found the country as pleasant as is possible to conceive, adapted to cultivation of every kind, whether of corn, wine or oil ; there are open plains twenty-five or thirty leagues in extent, entirely free from trees or other hinderances, and of so great fertility, that whatever is sown there will yield an excellent crop. On entering the woods, we observed that they might all be traversed by an army ever so numerous ; the trees of which they were composed, were oaks, cypresses, and others, unknown in Europe. We found, also, apples, plumbs, filberts, and many other fruits, but all of a different kind from ours. The animals, which are in great numbers, as stags, deer, lynxes, and many other species, are taken by snares, and by bows, the latter being their chief implement ; their arrows are wrought with great beauty, and for the heads of them, they use emery, jasper, hard marble, and other sharp stones, in the place of iron. They also use the same kind of sharp stones in cutting down trees, and with them they construct their boats of single logs, hollowed out with admirable skill, and sufficiently commodious to contain ten or twelve persons ; their oars are short, and broad at the end, and are managed in rowing by force of the arms alone, with perfect security, and as nimbly as they choose. We saw their dwellings, which are of a circular form, of about ten or twelve paces in circumference, made of logs split in halves, without any regularity of architecture, and covered with roofs of straw, nicely put on, which protect them from wind and rain. There is no doubt that they would build stately edifices if they had workmen as skilful as ours, for the whole sea-coast abounds in shining stones, crystals, and alabaster, and for the same reason it has ports and retreats for animals. They change their habitations from place to place as circumstances of situation and season may require ; this is easily

done, as they have only to take with them their mats, and they have other houses prepared at once. The father and the whole family dwell together in one house in great numbers ; in some we saw twenty-five or thirty persons. Their food is pulse, as with the other tribes, which is here better than elsewhere, and more carefully cultivated ; in the time of sowing they are governed by the moon, the sprouting of grain, and many other ancient usages. They live by hunting and fishing, and they are long-lived. If they fall sick, they cure themselves without medicine, by the heat of the fire, and their death at last comes from extreme old age. We judge them to be very affectionate and charitable towards their relatives—making loud lamentations in their adversity, and in their misery calling to mind all their good fortune. At their departure out of life, their relations mutually join in weeping, mingled with singing, for a long while. This is all that we could learn of them. This region is situated in the parallel of Rome, being $41^{\circ} 40'$ of north latitude, but much colder from accidental circumstances, and not by nature, as I shall hereafter explain to your Majesty, and confine myself at present to the description of its local situation. It looks towards the south, on which side the harbour is half a league broad ; afterwards, upon entering it, the extent between the coast and north is twelve leagues, and then enlarging itself it forms a very large bay, twenty leagues in circumference, in which are five small islands, of great fertility and beauty, covered with large and lofty trees. Among these islands any fleet, however large, might ride safely, without fear of tempests or other dangers. Turning towards the south, at the entrance of the harbour, on both sides, there are very pleasant hills, and many streams of clear water, which flow down to the sea. In the midst of the entrance, there is a rock of freestone, formed by nature, and suitable for the construction of any kind of machine or bulwark for the defence of the harbour.*

Having supplied ourselves with every thing necessary, on the fifth of May we departed from the port, and sailed one hundred and fifty leagues, keeping so close to the coast as never to lose it from our sight ; the nature of the country appeared much the same as before, but the mountains were a little higher,

* The above description applies to Narraganset bay and the harbour of Newport in Rhode Island, although mistaken by Dr. Miller, in his Discourse before this Society, as published in the first volume of the former series of Collections, for the bay and harbour of New-York. The latter are briefly described in a preceding paragraph of this translation, p. 45, with sufficient clearness to admit of their being easily recognized. The island "of a triangular form, resembling the island of Rhodes," which Verrazzano mentions as fifty leagues to the east of New-York, p. 46, is doubtless Block Island.—Ed.

and all in appearance rich in minerals. We did not stop to land as the weather was very favourable for pursuing our voyage, and the country presented no variety. The shore stretched to the east, and fifty leagues beyond more to the north, where we found a more elevated country, full of very thick woods of fir trees, cypresses and the like, indicative of a cold climate. The people were entirely different from the others we had seen, whom we had found kind and gentle, but these were so rude and barbarous that we were unable by any signs we could make, to hold communication with them. They clothe themselves in the skins of bears, lynxes, seals and other animals. Their food, as far as we could judge by several visits to their dwellings, is obtained by hunting and fishing, and certain fruits, which are a sort of root of spontaneous growth. They have no pulse, and we saw no signs of cultivation; the land appears sterile and unfit for growing of fruit or grain of any kind. If we wished at any time to traffick with them, they came to the sea shore and stood upon the rocks, from which they lowered down by a cord to our boats beneath whatever they had to barter, continually crying out to us, not to come nearer, and instantly demanding from us that which was to be given in exchange; they took from us only knives, fish hooks and sharpened steel. No regard was paid to our courtesies; when we had nothing left to exchange with them, the men at our departure made the most brutal signs of disdain and contempt possible. Against their will we penetrated two or three leagues into the interior with twenty-five men; when we came to the shore, they shot at us with their arrows, raising the most horrible cries and afterwards fleeing to the woods. In this region we found nothing extraordinary except vast forests and some metalliferous hills, as we infer from seeing that many of the people wore copper ear-rings. Departing from thence, we kept along the coast, steering north-east, and found the country more pleasant and open, free from woods, and distant in the interior we saw lofty mountains, but none which extended to the shore. Within fifty leagues we discovered thirty-two islands, all near the main land, small and of pleasant appearance, but high and so disposed as to afford excellent harbours and channels, as we see in the Adriatic gulph, near Illyria and Dalmatia. We had no intercourse with the people, but we judge that they were similar in nature and usages to those we were last among. After sailing between east and north the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues more, and finding our provisions and naval stores nearly exhausted, we took in wood and water and determined to return to France, having discovered 502, that is 700 (sic) leagues of unknown lands.

As to the religious faith of all these tribes, not understanding their language, we could not discover either by sign or gestures

any thing certain. It seemed to us that they had no religion nor laws, nor any knowledge of a First Cause or Mover, that they worshipped neither the heavens, stars, sun, moon nor other planets ; nor could we learn if they were given to any kind of idolatry, or offered any sacrifices or supplications, or if they have temples or houses of prayer in their villages ;—our conclusion was, that they have no religious belief whatever, but live in this respect entirely free. All which proceeds from ignorance, as they are very easy to be persuaded, and imitated us with earnestness and fervour in all which they saw us do as Christians in our acts of worship.

It remains for me to lay before your Majesty a Cosmographical exposition of our voyage.* Taking our departure, as I before observed, from the above mentioned desert rocks, which lie on the extreme verge of the west, as known to the ancients, in the meridian of the Fortunate Islands, and in the latitude of 32 degrees north from the equator, and steering a westward

* In the remainder of this letter, which is chiefly cosmographical, Verrazzano shows how many degrees farther westward he had sailed, than the knowledge of the ancients extended, and how erroneous were their notions about the relative proportions of land and water on the earth's surface. As to the first point, the whole calculation it will be observed is based upon an error in estimating his meridional distance, which is too large by nearly one half, and of course his difference of longitude in the same proportion ; but this is no disparagement to his nautical skill, for navigation was in its infancy at the time of his voyage, and he had not the aid of a lunar observation or a chronometer to correct his dead reckoning. Nor does it appear from the letter precisely in what way he determined his ship's progress ; he says only that he took observations of the sun, (probably with an astrolabe as the quadrant had not then been invented,) and that he kept notes of his daily run ; but the whole account, and particularly his deductions respecting the relative proportion of land and water, prove how very imperfect all such knowledge then was. This part of the letter is now we believe, for the first time, translated into English ; in giving it this new dress, we have endeavoured to keep as close as possible to the original, but such is its obscurity and confusedness of expression, that we do not venture to assert we have derived the exact meaning of every passage, still we are confident that no essential idea has been omitted or mistranslated. In the numerical computations the fractional parts are neglected, as they were found to be often wrong, owing most likely to the copyist's carelessness, and as they are not important to the right understanding of the statements.

course, we had run, when we first made land, a distance of 1200 leagues or 4800 miles, reckoning, according to nautical usage, four miles to a league. This distance calculated geometrically, upon the usual ratio of the diameter to the circumference of the circle, gives 92 degrees; for if we take 114 degrees as the chord of an arc of a great circle, we have by the same ratio 95 deg., as the chord of an arc on the parallel of 34 degrees, being that on which we first made land, and 300 degrees as the circumference of the whole circle, passing through this place. Allowing then, as actual observations show, that $62\frac{1}{2}$ terrestrial miles correspond to a celestial degree, we find the whole circumference of 300 deg., as just given, to be 18,759 miles, which divided by 360, makes the length of a degree of longitude in the parallel of 34 degrees to be 52 miles, and that is the true measure. Upon this basis, 1200 leagues, or 4800 miles meridional distance, on the parallel of 34, give 92 degrees, and so many therefore have we sailed farther to the west than was known to the ancients. During our voyage we had no lunar eclipses or like celestial phenomenas, we therefore determined our progress from the difference of longitude, which we ascertained by various instruments, by taking the sun's altitude from day to day, and by calculating geometrically the distance run by the ship from one horizon to another; all these observations, as also the ebb and flow of the sea in all places, were noted in a little book, which may prove serviceable to navigators; they are communicated to your Majesty in the hope of promoting science.

My intention in this voyage was to reach Cathay, on the extreme coast of Asia, expecting however, to find in the newly discovered land some such an obstacle, as they have proved to be, yet I did not doubt that I should penetrate by some passage to the eastern ocean. It was the opinion of the ancients, that our oriental Indian ocean is one and without any interposing land; Aristotle supports it by arguments founded on various probabilities; but it is contrary to that of the moderns and shown to be erroneous by experience; the country which has been discovered, and which was unknown to the ancients, is another world compared with that before known, being manifestly larger than our Europe, together with Africa and perhaps Asia, if we rightly estimate its extent, as shall now be briefly explained to your Majesty. The Spaniards have sailed south beyond the equator on a meridian 20 degrees west of the Fortunate Islands to the latitude of 54, and there still found land; turning about they steered northward on the same meridian and along the coast to the eighth degree of latitude near the equator, and thence along the coast more to the west and north-west, to the latitude of 21°, without finding a termination to the continent; they estimated the distance run as 89 degrees, which, added to the 20 first run

west of the Canaries, make 109 degrees and so far west ; they sailed from the meridian of these islands, but this may vary somewhat from truth ; we did not make this voyage and therefore cannot speak from experience ; we calculated it geometrically from the observations furnished by many navigators, who have made the voyage and affirm the distance to be 1600 leagues, due allowance being made for the deviations of the ship from a straight course, by reason of contrary winds. I hope that we shall now obtain certain information on these points, by new voyages to be made on the same coasts. But to return to ourselves ; in the voyage which we have made by order of your Majesty, in addition to the 92 degrees we run towards the west from our point of departure, before we reached land in the latitude of 34, we have to count 300 leagues which we ran north-east-wardly, and 400 nearly east along the coast before we reached the 50th parallel of north latitude, the point where we turned our course from the shore towards home. Beyond this point the Portuguese had already sailed as far north as the Arctic circle, without coming to the termination of the land. Thus adding the degrees of south latitude explored, which are 54, to those of the north, which are 66, the sum is 120, and therefore more than are embraced in the latitude of Africa and Europe, for the north point of Norway, which is the extremity of Europe, is in 71 north, and the Cape of Good Hope, which is the southern extremity of Africa, is in 35 south, and their sum is only 106, and if the breadth of this newly discovered country corresponds to its extent of sea coast, it doubtless exceeds Asia in size. In this way we find that the land forms a much larger portion of our globe than the ancients supposed, who maintained, contrary to mathematical reasoning, that it was less than the water, whereas actual experience proves the reverse, so that we judge in respect to extent of surface the land covers as much space as the water ; and I hope more clearly and more satisfactorily to point out and explain to your Majesty the great extent of that new land, or new world, of which I have been speaking. The continent of Asia and Africa, we know for certain is joined to Europe at the north in Norway and Russia, which disproves the idea of the ancients that all this part had been navigated from the Cimbric Chersonesus, eastward as far as the Caspian Sea. They also maintained that the whole continent was surrounded by two seas situate to the east and west of it, which seas in fact do not surround either of the two continents, for as we have seen above, the land of the southern hemisphere at the latitude of 54 extends eastwardly an unknown distance, and that of the northern passing the 66th parallel turns to the east, and has no termination as high as the 70th. In a short time, I hope, we shall have more certain knowledge of these things, by the aid

of your Majesty, whom I pray Almighty God to prosper in lasting glory, that we may see the most important results of this our cosmography in the fulfilment of the holy words of the Gospel.

On board the ship Dolphin, in the port of Dieppe in Normandy, the 8th of July, 1524.

Your humble servitor,

JANUS VERRAZZANUS.

NOTE.

The foregoing account of the celebrated voyage of the Florentine navigator Verrazzano, is fairly entitled to a place in this volume, from the circumstance of its containing the earliest notice of the bay and harbour of New-York that has come to our knowledge. It was originally published about forty years after the completion of the voyage, in the third volume of Ramusio's Collection of Voyages and Travels, in the Italian language, at Venice. An English translation of it first appeared in the year 1600, published by Hakluyt in his well-known Collection. The discovery by our countryman, George W. Greene, Esq., at Florence, of what appears to be a genuine manuscript copy of the original letter, as written by Verrazzano, differing in several respects from the one in Ramusio, forms an interesting event in the history of American discovery. For the purpose of enabling the critical reader to compare the two texts in the original language, the manuscript copy furnished to the Society by the attentions of Mr. Greene, is now published. This is believed to be its first appearance in print.* EDITOR.

IL CAPITANO GIOVANNI DA VERRAZZANO, fiorentino di Normandia alla Serenissima corona di Francia dice :

Da poi la fortuna passata nelle spiagge settentrionali, Ser^{mo} Signore, non scrissi a vostra serenissima et cristianissima Maestà quello che era seguito delli quattro legni che quella mandò per lo oceano ad iscoprir nuove terre, pensando di tutto sia stata certificata come dalle impetuose forze de' venti fummo costretti con sola la nave Normanda e Dalfina afflitti ricorrere in brettagna dove restaurati avrà V. S. M. inteso il discorso facemmo con quelle armate in guerra per li lidi di Spagna, di

* For a full account of the researches of Mr. Greene, in reference to this subject, and their valuable results, see the North American Review, for October, 1837 : Article—"The Life and Voyages of Verrazzano."

poi la nuova disposizione con sola la dalfina in seguire la prima navigazione, dalla quale essendo ritornato darò avviso a V. S. M. di quello abbiamo trovato.

Dallo deserto scupolo propinquo alla isola di Madera del Ser^{mo} re di Portogallo con la detta dalfina alli 17. del passato mese di gennajo con cinquanta uomini forniti di vettovaglie, arme et altri strumenti bellici e munizione navale per otto mesi partimmo navigando per zeffiro spirando subsolano con dolce e soave levità, in venticinque giorni corremmo leghe 800, e il dì 14 di Febbrajo passammo una tempesta tanto aspera quanto mai alcuno che navigasse passasse. Della quale con lo divino ajuto e bontade e laude, del glorioso nome e fortunato fatti atti a sopportare la violenta onda del mare, fummo liberi, e seguimmo nostra navigazione continuando verso l'occidente pigliando alquanto del settentrione, e in venti cinque altri giorni corremmo più oltre leghe 400, dove ci apparve una nuova terra mai da alcuno antico o moderno vista. Mostravasi alquanto bassa al principio, ma approssimatici a un quarto di lega conoscemmo quella per li grandissimi fuochi facevano al lito del mare essere abitata: vedemmo correva verso l'Austro, lustrandola per trovar alcuno porto dove potessimo con la nave sorgere per investigare la natura di quella in spazio di leghe 50 non trovammo porto prossimo alcuno dove sicuri potessimo posare, e visto che continuo scendeva verso l'Austro deliberammo tornare a rigarla verso il settentrione donde il medesimo trovammo sorgendo alla costa, mandando il battello a terra avemmo vista di molta gente che venivano al lido del mare et vedendo approssimarci fuggirono, alcuna volta fermandosi si voltavano addietro con grande ammirazione riguardando, ma assicurandoli noi con vary segni, venivano alcuni di quegli, mostrando grande allegrezza, a vederci maravigliandosi di nostri abiti e figure e bianchezza facendone vary segni dove col battello dovessimo più commodamente scendere offerendone di loro vivande: fummo alla terra e quello potessimo di loro vita e costumi conoscere con brevità dirò a V. S. M. Vanno del tuto nudi salvochè alle parti pudibunde portano alcune pelli di piccoli animali simili a martori, con una cintura d'erbe tessute con code d'altri animali che pendono circueudo il corpo sino alle ginocchia, il resto nudo, il capo simile. Alcuni di loro portano certe ghirlande simili di penne d'uccelli. Son di colore neri non molto dagli Etiopi difforni i capelli neri e folti non molto lunghi, i quali legano insieme dietro alla testa in forma d'una piccola coda. Quanto alla similitudine dell' uomo sono bene proporzionati di mezza statura e più presto a noi eccedono in nel petto amplii, nelle braccia disposte le gambe e l'altro del corpo bene composti: non hanno altro salvo alquanto nel viso tendono in larghezza, non

però tutti che a molti vedemmo il viso profilato, gli occhi neri e grandi la guardatura fissa, non sono di molta forza ma di ingenio acuti agili e grandissimi corridori per quello potemmo per esperienza conoscere. Somigliano per due estremi agl' orientali massime a queglii delle ultime regioni. Non potemmo di loro costumi molto in particolare comprendere per la poca stanza facemmo alla terra, per essere suso l'onde alla spiaggia. Trovammo non lungi di queglii altri populi de quali pensiamo il vivere sia conforme, e il lito è coperto tutto di una minuta rena alto piedi quindici, estendendosi in forma di piccoli colli largo passi cinquanta. Poi ascendendo si trovano alcuni bracci di mare che entrano per alcune foci rigando il lito dall' una all' altra parte come corre il lito di quello. A presso si mostra la terra lata tanto eminente che eccede il lito arenoso, con belle campagne e province piene di grandissime selve, parte rare e parte dense, vestite di varj colori di arbori di tanta vaghezza e dilettevole guardatura quanto esprimere sia possibile, nè credo quelle sieno come la ercinea selva o le aspre solitudini di scitia o piaggie settentrionali piene di viti e arbori, ma ornate di palme, lauri, e cipressi e altre varietà d' arbori incogniti alla nostra Europa quali da lungo spazio spirano suavissimi odori i quali non possemmo conoscere per la causa sopra narrata non che a noi fosse difficile per le selve discorrere che tutte sono penetrabili, nè pensiamo partecipando dello oriente per la circonferenza sieno senza qualche drogheria o liquore aromatico et altre divitie oro ed altro del quale colore la terra tutta tende, e copiosa di molti animali daini, cervi, lepre, e simili. Di laghi e stagni di vivà acqua copiosa con varj numeri d' uccelli atti e commodi a ogni dilettevole piacere di venagione. Sta questa terra gradi 34, l'aria salubre pura e temperata dal caldo e dal freddo. Venti non impetuosi in quella regione spirano, e quelli che più continui regnano sono coro e zeffiro. Al tempo estivo del quale noi fummo il ciclo è sereno con rara pluvia, e se alcuna volta da venti australi l'aria incorre in qualche pruina o caligine in uno stante non durando è disfatta tornando pura e chiara, il mare tranquillo e non fluttuoso le onde del quale sono placide ancora che il lito tutto renda in bassezza, e nudo di porti non però è infesto a naviganti essendo tutto netto e senza alcuno scupolo e profondo che per insino a 4 o 5 passi si trova presso alla terra senza flusso o riflusso piedi venti d'acqua crescendo tal proporzione uniforme alla profondità nel pelago con tanto buono tenitorio che qualsivoglia nave da tempesta afflitta mai in quelle parti non rompendo le funi potrà perire, e questo abbiamo provato per esperienza. Imperocchè per valere nel principio di Marzo come sempre ogni regione essere suole le forze de venti sendo noi in alto mare surti da procella oppressi

prima trovammo la ancora rotta che nel fondo arasse o facesse movimento alcuno.

Partimmo di questo luogo continuo scorrendo la costa qual trovammo tornava allo occidente veggendo per tutta quella grandissimi fuochi per la moltitudine delli abitatori. Surgendo in quella alla spiaggia per non tenere porto alcuno, per necessità d'acqua mandammo il battello a terra con 25 uomini, per le grandissime onde gittava il mare al lito per essere la spiaggia aperta non fu possibile senza pericolo di perdere il battello che alcuno potesse in terra scendere, vedemmo molta gente venivano al lito facendo varj segni d'amistà mostrando fussimo a terra, fra quali vidi uno atto magnifico come intenderà V. S. M. Mandando noi a nuoto uno giovane de' nostri marinari a terra portando a quegli alcune fantasie come sonagli specchi ed altre gentilezze, ed essendo 3 o 4 giunti prossimo a quegli gittando loro le merce e volendo adietro tornarsi fu tanto dalle onde rimosso che quasi morto cadde trasportato alla riva del lito quale visto la gente della terra. Subito corsono pigliandolo per la testa e gambe e braccia lo portarono alquanto lontano, onde veggendo il giovane in tal forma portarsi da terrore spaventato metteva grandissimi gridi—il che loro in loro lingua simile facevano dimostrando non temesse—di poi quello in terra a piè d'uno colletto posto facevano grandissimi atti di ammirazione guardando la bianchezza delle sue carni per tutto lincandolo e spogliandogli la camicia ed i calzamenti e restato nudo feciono appresso di quello uno grandissimo fuoco approssimandolo al calore. Il che visto i marinari che erano al battello restati pieni di spavento come in ogni caso nuovo è costume di quelli pensavano che per cibo lo volessero arrostitire, riavuto lui le forze, con quelli alquanto dimorato per segni dimostrò volersi tornare alla nave e quelli con grandissimo amore tenendolo sempre stretto, con varj abbracciamenti l'accompagnarono fino al mare e per più assicurarlo allargandosi in uno colle eminente stettero a riguardarlo fino che quello fu al battello. Il giovane di queste gente conobbe che tali sono di colore nero come gli altri e le carni molto lustre, di mediana statura, il viso più profilato, il corpo e l'altre membra assai più delicati di molta poca forza e più presto d'ingegno altro non vide.

Di qui partiti seguendo sempre il lito che tornava verso settentrione pervenimmo in spazio di leghe 50 a un'altra terra che molto si mostrava bella e piena di grandissime selve. Guignemmo a quella andando 20 uomini circa due leghe fra terra e trovammo le genti che per paura s'erano fuggite alle selve, cercando per tutto scontrammo una femina molto vecchia ed una giovane d'anni 18 in 20, le quali per timore si erano ascose fra l'erbe. Aveva la vecchia due fanciullette

quale portava sopra le spalle e dietro al collo uno fanciullo tutti d'età d'anni VIII in circa, giunti noi a quelli cominciorno a gridare e farne segni agli uomini che s'erano fuggiti alle selve. Donammoli noi a mangiare delle nostre vivande quale con gran gusto accettorno, la giovane tutto rinunziava e con ira a terra gittava e pigliammo il fanciullo alla vecchia per menare in Francia, e volendo prendere la giovane quale era di molta bellezza, e d'alta statura, non fu mai possibile per i grandissimi gridi spandeva la potessimo condurre al mare avendo a passare per alcune selve ed essendo dalla nave lungi deliberammo lasciarla portando solo il fanciullo. 'Trovammo costoro più bianchi che i passati, vestiti di certe erbe che stavano pendenti a' rami degli alberi quale tessono con varie corde di canape silvestra, il capo nudo nella medesima forma degli altri, il vivere loro in genere è di legumi de quali abbondano differenti nel colore a grandezze de' nostri di ottimo e dilettevole sapore. In oltre di venazione pesci ed ucelli quali pigliano con lacci ed archi fanno di duro legno, le frecce di calamo e nella estremità mettono ossi di pesci, e d'altri animali. Sono in questa parte le fiere più salvatiche che non sono in la nostra Europa per la continua molestia hanno dei venatori. Vedemmo molte delle loro barchette costrutte d'un solo albero lunghe piedi 20 larghe piedi 4 non con ferro o pietra o altro genere di metallo sono fabbricate imperocchè tutta quella terra in spazio di leghe dugento che vi corremmo alcuna pietra d'alcuna sorta mai da noi fu vista. Auitansi del quarto elemento del legno tale parte quanto basti alla concavità dela barca ed il simile della prora e poppa tanto che navigando possa solcare le onde del mare. La terra del sito, bontà e bellezza è come l'altre selve vare di vario genere d'alberi piene ma non di tanto odore per essere più settentrionale e fredda. Vedemmo in quello molte vite dalla natura produtte, quali alzandosi avvoltano agli alberi come nella cisalpina Gallia costumano, le quali se dagli agricoltori avessino il perfetto ordine di cultura senza dubbio produrrebbono ottimi vini, perche più volte il frutto di quello beendo, veggendo suave e dolce non dal nostro differente sono da loro tenuti in estimazione imperocchè per tutto dove nascono levano gli arbuscoli circostanti ad causa il frutto possa germinare. 'Trovammo rose silvestre e viole gigli e molte sorte di erbe e fiori odoriferi da nostri differenti. Le abitazioni loro non conoscemmo per essere dentro infra terra, estimiamo per molti segni vedemmo sieno di legno e di erbe composte, credendo ancora per varie congetture e vestigi molti di quegli dormire alla campagne ed altra che il cielo non abbiano per copertura. Altro di costoro non conoscemmo, pensiamo tutti gli altri della passata terra vivino nel medesimo modo. Essendo in questa terra dimorati tre giorni, surti alla costa per la rarità de' porti deliberammo partire scorrendo sempre al lito

infra settentrione ed oriente, il dì solamente navigando e la notte posando la ancora in termini di leghe cento trovammo un sito molto ameno posto infra piccoli colli eminenti nel mezzo de' quali correva al mare una grandissima riviera, la quale dentro alla foce era profonda e dal mare all' eminenza di quella col ricrescimento delle acque quali trovammo piedi otto e vi saria passata ogni oneraria nave e per essere surti nella costa in buono obbligo non volemmo senza intelligenza della foce avventurarci fummo col battello ed entrando nella riviera alla terra quale trovammo molto popolata e le genti quasi conforme all' altre vestiti di penne d' uccelli di varj colori venivano verso di noi allegramente mettendo grandissimi gridi di ammirazione mostrandone dove col battello avessimo più sicuramente a posare, entrammo in detta riviera dentro alla terra circa mezza lega dove vedemmo faceva un bellissimo lago di circuito di leghe tre in circa, per lo quale andavano scorrendo dall' una all' altra parte al numero di trenta di loro barchette con infinite genti che passavano dall' una all' altra terra per vederci. In uno stante come advenire suole nel navigare movendosi impetuoso contrario vento dal mare fummo forzati tornarci alla nave lasciando la detta terra con molto dispiacere per la commodità e vaghezza di quella pensando non fosse senza qualche facoltà di prezzo mostrandosi tutti li colli di quella minerali. Levata l' ancora nàvicammo verso l' oriente che cosi la terra tornava, discorse leghe ottanta. Sempre a vista di quella discoprimmo una isola in forma triangolare lontano dal continente leghe X di grandezza simile alla isola di rodi piena di colli, coperta d' alberi, e molto popolata per li continui fuochi, per tutto intorno al lito vedemmo che facevano. Battezzammolo in nome della vostra clarissima genitrice. Non surgendo a quella per la opposizione del tempo venimmo a un' altra terra distante dalla isola leghe XV trovammo uno bellissimo porto e prima in quello entrassimo vedemmo circa XX barchette di genti che venivano con varj gridi e maraviglie intorno alla nave non approssimandosi più che cinquanta passi fermavansi vedendo lo edificio nostro effigie ed abiti: di poi tutti insieme spandevano un altro grido, significando rallegrarsi, assicuratigli alquanto imitando loro gesti si approssimorno tanto che gittammo loro alcuni sonagli e specchj e molte fantasie quale prese con riso e riguardandole sicuramente nella nave entrarono. Erano infra quelli duo re de tanta bella statura e forma quanto narrare sia possibile il primo d' anni 40 in circa l' altro d' anni 24 l' abito de' quali tale era—il più vecchio sopra il corpo nudo aveva una pelle di cervo lavorata artifiziosamente alla damaschina con varj ricami, la testa nuda, li capelli aditro avolti con varie legature, al collo una catena larga ornata di molte pietre di diversi colori. Il giovane quasi nella medesima forma. Era ques-

ta la più bella gente e la più gentile di costumi abbiamo trovata in questa navigazione, eccedono noi di grandezza, sono di colore *bianchissimo*, alcuni pendono più in bianchezza ma altri in colore flavo, il viso profilato, i capegli lunghi e neri nei quali pongono grandissimo studio in adornargli, gli occhi neri e pronti, la aria dolce e soave imitando molto l' antico. Delle altre parti del corpo non dirò a V. S. M. tenendo tutte le proporzioni del corpo l' appartiene a uno bene composto. Le donne loro sono della medesima forma e bellezza molto graziose e di venusta aria e grato aspetto di costumi e continentia, nude con solo una pelle di cervo ricamata come gli uomini alcune alle braccia portano pelle di lupi cervieri molto ricche, il capo con varj ornamenti di trecce composte de' medesimi capegli che pendono dall' uno e l' altro lato del petto. Alcune hanno altre acconciature come le donne d' Egitto e di soria usano, e queste sono quelle che eccedono alla età e giunte in spozalizio agli orecchi tengono varie fantasie pendenti come gli orientali costumano così gli uomini come le donne a quali vedemmo molte lamine di rame lavorate da quelli tenute in pregio più che l'oro; il quale per il colore non stimano: imperocchè fra tutti i metalli da loro per il più vile è tenuto per il giallo colore che aborrono, lo azzurro ed il rosso sopra ogni altro esaltando. Quello che da noi gli fù donato che più tenessino in prezzo erano sonagli, cristallini azzurri ed altre fantasie da tenere agli orecchi ed al collo, non prezzano drappi di seta o di oro o di oltri generi di drappi, nè si curano quelli avere, simile de' metalli come acciaio ferro, perchè più volte mostrandoli delle nostre armi non ne pigliavano ammirazione e di quelle domandavano solo lo artificio risguardando—delli specchi il simile facevano subito quelli guardando, ridendo renunziavano. Sono molto liberali che tutto quello hanno donato. Facemmo con loro grande amistà ed uno giorno avanti entrassimo con la nave nel porto stando per li tempe adversi una lega nel mare surti venivano con un numero di loro barchette alla nave puntata ed acconci il viso con varj colori mostrandoci vero segno di allegrezza, portandone delle loro vivande, facendoci segno dove per salvazione della nave nel porto avessimo a surgere di continuo accompagnandone perfino a quello posammo la ancora, pel quale posammo giorni quindici restaurandone di molta opportunità, dove ogni giorno veniva gente a vedere alla nave menando le loro donne delle quali sono molto curiosi imperocchè entrando loro in quella dimorando lungo spazio facevano le loro donne aspettare nelle barchette e con quanti prieghi li facessimo offerendo donare loro varie cose non era possibile che lasciassino quelle in nave entrare e molte volte venendo uno delli duore con la regina e molti gentili uomini per suo piacere a vedere,

in prima si fermava sempre a una terra distante da noi 200 passi, mandando una barchetta, ad avvisarne della sua venuta, dicendo volare venire a vedere la nave, questo facendo in speziè di sicurtà, e come da noi avevano la risposta subito venivano e stati alquanto a risguardare sentendo il nojoso clamore della turba marittima mandava la regina con le sue damigelle in una barchetta molto leggièra a riposare ad una isola distante da noi un quarto di lega restando in grandissimo spazio ragionando per segni e questi di varie fantasie riguardando tutte le sostanze della nave domandando in particolare la proprietà di quelle, imitando i nostri *saluti*, gustando i nostri cibi, di poi benignamente da noi si partiva ed alcuna volta due e tre giorni stando le nostre genti ad una isola piccola vicina alla nave per varie necessità come è costume de' Marinaj veniva con 7 o 8 de' suoi gentili uomini in quella guardando nostre operazioni, domandandone più volte se volevamo restar quivi per lungo tempo offerendone ogni sua facultà, di poi tirando con l' arco correndo faceva can li suoi gentili uomini varj giuochi per darne piacere fummo più volte in fra terra V o VI leghe quale trovammo tanto amena quanto narrare sia possibile, atta a ogni genere di cultura, frumento, vino, olio imperocchè in quella sono campagne larghe XXV in XXX leghe aperte e nude d' ogni impedimento d' arbori, di tanta fertilità che qualsivoglia seme in quella produrrebbe ottimo frutto. Entrando poi nelle selve tutte a ogni numeroso esercito in qual modo sia sono penetrabili, delle quali gli arbori sono querce, cipressi, ed altri incogniti nella Europa. Trovammo pomi luculliane prune, avellane e molte altre frutte. Il genere di esse è differente dalle nostre. Animali vi sono di grandissimo numero, cervi, daini lupi cervieri, e di altre spezie quali nel modo degli altre pigliano can lacci, archi, che sono per loro principale arme, le frece de quali sono con molta pulchritudine lavorate ponendo nella estremità per ferro smeriglio, diaspro e duro marmore ed altre taglienti pietre, delle quali si servono per ferro nel tagliare alberi e fabricare le loro barchette di un solo fusto di legno con mirabile artificio concavo, nella quale commodamente andrà X o XII uomini, ed il remo corto nella estremità larga operando quel solo con forza di braccia in pelago senza alcuno pericolo, con tanta velocità quanto a loro piace e stendoci vedemmo loro abitazione in forma circolare di X in XII passi di ambito fabricate di semicircoli di legno separate l'una dall'altra senza ordine d' architectura, coperte di tele di paglia sottilmente lavorate che da vento e pioggia li difendono, non è dubbio se avessimo la perfezione degli artifizj, noi abbiamo che conducessino magni edifizj, imperocchè tutto il lito marittimo di vive pietre d' auralce e cristalline e di alabastro è pieno e per tale causa è copioso di porti e ricettacoli

di animali. Permutano le dette cose di uno in altro luogo secondo la esperienza del cito ed il tempo in quello dimorati—levano solo le tele, in uno stante hanno altre abitazioni fabricate, e dimora in ciascheduna padre e famiglia in grandissimo numero e in qualche una vedemmo XXV o XXX anime ed il vivere loro è come gli altri di legumi i quali producono con più ordine di cultura, degli altri asservando nelle semenze lo influsso lunare il nascimento delle biade e molti modi dall antichi dati—in oltre di venagione e pesci—vivono lungo tempo. In egritudine incorrono se da

sono oppressi senza flemito col fuoco da loro medesimi si sanano ed il fine loro è della ultima vecchiezza giudichiamo sieno di loro prossimi molto pietosi e caritativi, facendo nelle avversità gran lamenti, nelle miserie ricordando tutte le loro felicità ed i parenti l' uno con l' altro nel fine di loro vita usano il pianto siciliano misto con canto per lungo tempo durando. E questo è quanto di loro potessimo conoscere. Questa terra è situata nel parallelo di Roma in gradi $41\frac{2}{3}$ ma alquanto più fredda per accidente, non per natura, come in altra parte narrerò a V. S. M. descrivendo al presente il sito di detto posto guarda verso lo austro angusta mezza lega dipoi entrando in quello infra oriente e settentrione s'estende leghe XII dove allargandosi causa uno amplissimo seno di circuito di leghe XX in circa nel quale sono V isolette di molta fertilità e vaghezza piene di alti e spatiosi alberi infra le quali isole ogni numero di classe senza timore di tempesta o di altro impedimento di fortuna sicura può quiescere. Tornando per verso meridio alla entrata del porto all' uno e l' altro lato sono amenissimi colli con molti rivi che dalla eminenza al mare scaturiscono chiare acque. Nel mezzo della bocca si trova uno scoglio di viva pietra dalla natura prodotto atto a fabbricarvi qual si vuole macchina o propugnacolo per custodia di quello.

Essendo di ogni nostra opportunità restaurati il giorno sei di maggio partimmo dal detto porto continuando il lito non perdendo mai la vista della terra navigammo leghe 150, trovandola di una medesima natura ed alquanto più alta con alcune montagne che tutte si mostravano minerali, non posammo a quella per la prosperità del tempo ne serviva in rigare la costa pensammo fosse all' altra conforme—correva il lito allo oriente, in spazio di leghe 50 tenando più al settentrione trovammo una terra alta piena di selve molto folte delle quali li alberi furono abeti, cipressi, e simili che si generano in regione fredda, le gente tutte dalle altre difforine e quanto i passati erano d' ogni gesto gentili, questi erano di ruvidezza e visi tanto barbari, che mai potemmo con quanti segnali li facessimo avere con loro conversazione alcuna. Vestono di pelle di orsi, di

lupi, cervieri marini e d' altri animali. Il vivere loro per quello potemmo consocere, andando più volte dove avevano la abitazione stimiamo le più volte sia di venagione e pesci e di alcuni frutti che sono spezie di radici quale la terra per se medesima produce. Non hanno legumi ne vedemmo segno alcuno di cultura nemineno farebbe la terra per la sterilità non atta a produrre frutto o seme alcuno. Se da quegli alcuna volta renunziando volevamo delle loro cose ne venivano al lito del mare sopra alcune pietre dove, più frangeva e stando noi nel batello con una corda, quello che volevan dare ci mandevano, continuo gridando alla terra non ci approssimassimo, domandando subito il cambio allo incontro, non pigliando se non coltelli, lami da pescare e metallo tagliente, ne stimavano gentilezza alcuna, e quando non avevamo più che permutare da loro partendo gli uomini ne facevano tutti gli atti di dispregio e vere condia che può fare ogni brutta creatura. Fummo contra loro volontà dentro fra terra due o tre leghe XXV uomini e quando scendevano al lito ci tiravano con loro archi mettendo gridi grandissimi, poi si fuggivano nelle selve. Non conoscemmo in questa terra facoltà di momento alcuno se non grandissime selve con alcuni colli possono avere qualche metallo che a molti vedemmo pater nostri di rame alli orecchi. Partimmo scorrendo la costa infra oriente e settentrione quale trovammo più bella, aperta e nuda di selve con alte montagne dentro infra terra diminuendo verso il lito del mare—in leghe cinquanta discoprimmo XXXII isole tutte propinque al continente, piccole e di grata prospettiva, alte tenendo la verzura della terra fra le quali si causava bellissimi porti e canali come nel seno adriatico, nella Illirede e Dalmazia fanno. Non avemmo con la gente conoscenza e stimiamo come le altre lasciate di costumi e natura siano. Navigando infra 'l subsolano ed acquilone in spazio di leghe 150 e di già avendo consumato tutte le nostre sostanze navali e vettovaglie, avendo discoperto leghe 502 cioè leghe 700 più di nuova terra fornendoci di acque e leghe deliberammo di tornare in Francia.

Quanto alla fede tengono tutti questi popoli abbiamo trovati per mancamento di lingue non possemmo conoscere ne per segni o gesti alcuni. Consideriamo tenessino legge o fede alcuna, ne conoscono una per una causa e motore ne venerano cielo o stelle, sole luna o altri pianeti, ne manco tenessino spezie di idolatria ne conoscemmo facessino sacrificio o altre preci ne in la loro popolazione hanno tempj o case di orazione. Stimiamo non tenghino fede alcuna ma vivino in questa libertà, e tutto dalla ignoranza procede perchè sono molti facili a persuadere tutto quello hanno i cristiani circa il culto divino vedevano fare e facevano con quello stimolo e fervore che noi facciamo.

Restami a narrare a V. S. M. l'ordine di detta navigazione circa la cosmografia. Come di sopra dissi partendo dalli prefati scoperti che son situati nel fine dello occidente alli antichi noto, e nel meridiano descritto per le insule fortunate in latitudine gradi 32 dallo equatore del nostro emisferio navigando allo occidente perfino alla prima terra trovammo leghe 1200, che contengono miglia 4800, computando miglia quattro per lega secondo lo uso marittimo degli navilerii geometriche giusta la proporzione tripla settima del diametro alla circonferenza gradi $92\frac{5}{4}\frac{4}{3}\frac{5}{7}\frac{4}{3}$ con ciò sia che essendo la corda del arco del massimo circolo gradi $114\frac{6}{1}$ e la corda del parallelo gradi 34, della prima terra da noi trovata alla medesima proporzione gradi $95\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{3}$, essere si mostra l'ambito di tutto il circolo gradi $300\frac{3}{1}\frac{1}{7}\frac{3}{3}$ che dando per ogni grado come confermano la maggiore parte di quelli che hanno sperimentato rispondere in terra alla proporzione del cielo, miglia $62\frac{1}{2}$ fariano miglia 18759 $\frac{3}{1}\frac{1}{6}$ quale ripartite in 360 perveneria per ciascheduno miglio $52\frac{1}{6}\frac{1}{6}\frac{1}{6}$ e tanto vale uno grado di longitudine in detto parallelo di gradi 34. Sopra il quale per la retta del meridiano di detti scoperti che stanno in gradi 32 abbiamo calcolata la ragione in questo che le dette leghe 1200 per retta linea in gradi 34 da occidente in oriente abbiamo trovato, perverria adunque per quella gradi $92\frac{5}{4}\frac{4}{3}\frac{5}{7}\frac{4}{3}$ e tanto abbiamo navigato più allo occidente e non fu cognito alli antiche, nel detto parallelo di gradi 34, questa distanza a noi fu nota per la longitudine con varj strumenti navigando senza eclissi lunari o altro aspetto per al moto solare pigliando sempre la elevazione a qual si voglia ora per la differenza faceva dall uno all' altro orizzonte correndo la nave geometriche, ne era noto lo intervallo dall uno meridiano all' altro come in un libretto tutto amplamente notato insieme col crescimento del mare in qualsivoglia clima ad ogni tempo ed ora il quale non inutile stimo abbia a essere a naviganti, spero meglio per la teorica conferirlo a V. S. M. Mia intenzione era di pervenire in questa navigazione al Cathaj allo estremo oriente dell Asia pensando trovare tale impedimento di nuova terra quale ho trovata, e se per qualche ragione pensava quella trovare non senza qualche futo di penetrare allo oceano orientale essere stimava questa opinione di tutti gli antichi e stata credendo certamente il nostro oceano orientale di India uno essere senza interposizione di terra questo afferma Aristotile argomentando per varie similitudini la quale opinione e molto contraria à moderni e la esperienza falsa imperocchè la terra è stata trovata da quegli antichi incognita un altro mondo a rispetto di quella a loro fu noto—manifestamente essere si mostra e di maggiore della nostra Europa, della Africa e quasi della Asia se rettamente speculiamo la grandezza di quella come sotto brevità ne farò un poco di discorso a V. S. M. Oltre lo

equatore distante dal meridiano dalle insule fortunate verso lo occidente gradi $20\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{4}$ gli spani verso lo austro gradi 54, hanno navigato dove hanno trovato terra senza fine tornando poi al settentrione giusta la detta linea meridionale correndo il lito perfino in 8 gradi propinqui allo equatore più allo occidente partecipando più al settentrione giusta la detta linea meridionale continuando il lito perfino in gradi 21, non trovando termine gradi $89\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}$ hanno navigato quali giunti con gradi $20\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{4}$, fanno gradi $110\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{4}$ e tanto hanno navigato del detto meridiano dalle isole fortunate più allo occidente nel parallelo gradi 21 della altitudine, questa distanza da noi non è stata sperimentata per non avere fatta detta navigazione potria variare poco più o manco abbiamo quella calcolata geometrica per la notizia di molti navicalieri che la hanno frequentata quali affermano essere leghe 1600 giudicando per lo arbitrio il discorso della nave secondo la qualità del vento per la continua navigazione spero in breve ne avremo ottima certitudine dall' altra parte noi in questa nostra navigazione fatta per ordine di V. S. M. oltra i gradi 92 che dal detto meridiano verso lo occidente dalla prima terra trovammo gradi 34 navigando leghe 300 infra oriente e settentrione leghe 400 quasi allo oriente continuo il lito della terra siamo pervenuti per infino a gradi 50, lasciando la terra che più tempo fa trovorno li Lusitani quali seguirono più al settentrione pervenendo sino al circolo artico il fine lasciando incognito. Giunta adunque la latitudine settentrionale con la meridionale videlicet i gradi 54 con li gradi 66 fanno gradi 120 che tanto contiene di latitudine la Africa con la Europa perchè giungendo lo estremo della Europa che sono i limiti di Norvegia che stanno in gradi 71 con lo estremo dell' Africa che è il promontorio di capo di Buona Speranza in gradi 35, faranno solo gradi 106 e se lo equestre di detta terra in parte corrisponde al lito marittimo non è dubbio di grandezza la Asia ecceda in tal forma troviamo il globo della terra molto maggiore non hanno tenuto gli antichi a ripugnanza matematici quelle rispetto alla acqua sia minima il che per esperienza lo opposto veggiamo e quanto allo aree corporale, di spazio non meno la terra che la acqua possedere giudichiamo come alla presenza meglio spero e con più ragione sperimentare e mostrare a V. S. M. tutta quella nuova terra o nuovo mondo che disopra abbiamo narrato contiene. Insieme congiungendo alla Asia ed Africa et che sappiamo certo porria giungere alla Europa con la Norvegia e Russia che sarebbe falso secondo gli antichi quali dal promontorio de cimbrì quasi tutto il settentrionale dicono essere stato navigato allo oriente circueudo circa il mare caspio il medesimo affermano resterebbe adunque solo interclusa da due mari situati dallo orientale ed occidentale, e quelle due ne chiude l'uno e l'altro perchè oltre a' gradi 54 della equinoziale verso lo austro

s'estende allo oriente per lungo spazio e dal settentrionale passando i gradi 66. Segue tornando in verso lo oriente giungendo perfino a gradi 70. Spero con lo ajuto di V. S. M. ne avremo in breve migliore certitudine, la quale Dio onnipossente prosperi in diuturna fama ad causa veggiamo ottime fine di questa nostra cosmografia che si adempie la sacra voce dello evangelio—nella nave Delphina in Normandiá in porto di Diepa, a dì 8 Luglio, 1524.

Humilis Servitor,

JANUS VERRAZZANUS.

III.

INDIAN TRADITION
OF THE
FIRST ARRIVAL OF THE DUTCH,
AT
MANHATTAN ISLAND,
NOW NEW-YORK.

NOTE.

THE following paper is derived from the manuscripts deposited among the collections of the Society by the Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D., to whom it was communicated by the Rev. JOHN HECKEWELDER, for many years a Moravian missionary to the Indians of Pennsylvania. In a letter accompanying it, dated at Bethlehem, Jan. 26th, 1801, Mr. Heckewelder says, "As I receive my information from Indians, in their language and style, I return it in the same way. *Facts* are all I aim at, and from my knowledge of the Indians, I do not believe every one's story. The enclosed account is, I believe, as authentic as any thing of the kind can be obtained."

A voluminous correspondence of Mr. Heckewelder with Mr. Du Ponceau, concerning the languages of the Indians, together with an account of the history, manners, and general character of the native tribes, derived from personal observation, was published by the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, in 1819. This paper, in a somewhat altered, perhaps improved, form in respect to its phraseology, was comprehended in that publication; but as the original draft is more likely to convey accurately the language and style of Mr. Heckewelder's Indian informants, there seems to be a manifest propriety in adopting it for publication in the present connexion.

EDITOR.

INDIAN TRADITION, & c.

The following account of the *first* arrival of Europeans at York Island, is verbatim as it was related to me by aged and respected Delawares, Momeys and Mahicanni, (otherwise called Mohigans, Mahicanders,) near forty years ago. It is copied from notes and manuscripts taken on the spot. They say :

A long time ago, when there was no such thing known to the Indians as people with a *white skin*, (their expression,) some Indians who had been out a-fishing, and where the sea widens, espied at a great distance something remarkably large swimming, or floating on the water, and such as they had never seen before. They immediately returning to the shore apprised their countrymen of what they had seen, and pressed them to go out with them and discover what it might be. These together hurried out, and saw to their great surprise the phenomenon, but could not agree what it might be ; some concluding it either to be an uncommon large fish, or other animal, while others were of opinion it must be some very large house. It was at length agreed among those who were spectators, that as this phenomenon moved towards the land, whether or not it was an animal, or anything that had life in it, it would be well to inform all the Indians on the inhabited islands of what they had seen, and put them on their guard. Accordingly, they sent runners and watermen off to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that these might send off in every direction for the warriors to come in. These arriving in numbers, and themselves viewing the strange appearance, and that it was actually moving towards them, (the entrance of the river or bay,) concluded it to be a large canoe or house, in which the great Mannitto (great or Supreme Being) *himself* was, and that he probably was coming to visit them. By this time the chiefs of the different tribes were assembled on York Island, and were counselling (or deliberating) on the manner they should receive their Mannitto on his arrival. Every step had been taken to be well provided with a plenty of meat for a sacrifice ; the women were required to prepare the best of victuals ; idols or images were examined and put in order ;

and a grand dance was supposed not only to be an agreeable entertainment for the Mannitto, but might, with the addition of a sacrifice, contribute towards appeasing him, in case he was angry with them. The conjurors were also set to work, to determine what the meaning of this phenomenon was, and what the result would be. Both to these, and to the chiefs and wise men of the nation, men, women, and children were looking up for advice and protection. Between hope and fear, and in confusion, a dance commenced. While in this situation fresh runners arrive declaring it a house of various colours, and crowded with living creatures. It now appears to be certain that it is the great Mannitto bringing them some kind of game, such as they had not before; but other runners soon after arriving, declare it a large house of various colours, full of people, yet of quite a different colour than they (the Indians) are of; that they were also dressed in a different manner from them, and that one in particular appeared altogether red, which must be the *Mannitto* himself. They are soon hailed from the vessel, though in a language they do not understand; yet they shout (or yell) in their way. Many are for running off to the woods, but are pressed by others to stay, in order not to give offence to their visitors, who could find them out, and might destroy them. The house (or large canoe, as some will have it,) stops, and a smaller canoe comes ashore with the red man and some others in it; some stay by this canoe to guard it. The chiefs and wise men (or councillors) had composed a large circle, unto which the red-clothed man with two others approach. He salutes them with friendly countenance, and they return the salute after their manner. They are lost in admiration, both as to the colour of the skin (of these whites) as also to their manner of dress, yet most as to the habit of him who wore the red clothes, which shone* with something they could not account for. He *must* be the great Mannitto (Supreme Being,) they think, but why should he have a *white skin*?† A large hockhack‡ is brought forward by one of the (supposed) Mannitto's servants, and from this a substance is poured out into a small cup (or glass) and handed to the Mannitto. The (expected) Mannitto drinks; has the glass filled again, and hands it to the chief next to him to drink. The chief receives the glass, but only smelleth at it, and passes it on to the next chief, who does the same. The glass thus passes through the circle without the contents being tasted by any one; and is upon the point of being returned again to the red-clothed man, when one of their number, a spirited man and

* Lacce.

† Their own expression.

‡ Their word for gourd, bottle, decanter, &c.

great warrior jumps up—harangues the assembly on the impropriety of returning the glass with the contents in it; that the same was handed them by the Mannitto in order that they should drink it, as he himself had done before them; that this would please him; but to return what he had given to them might provoke him, and be the cause of their being destroyed by him. And that, since he believed it for the good of the nation that the contents offered them *should* be drank, and as no one was willing to drink it *he would*, let the consequence be what it would; and that it was better for one man to die, than a whole nation to be destroyed. He then took the glass and bidding the assembly a farewell, *drank it off*. Every eye was fixed on their resolute companion to see what an effect this would have upon him, and he soon beginning to stagger about, and at last dropping to the ground, they bemoan him. He falls into a sleep, and they view him as expiring. He awakes again, jumps up, and declares that he never felt himself before so happy as after he had drank the cup. Wishes for more. His wish is granted; and the whole assembly soon join him, and become intoxicated.*

After this general intoxication had ceased, (during which time the whites had confined themselves to their vessel,) the man with the red clothes returned again to them, and distributed presents among them, to wit, beads, axes, hoes, stockings, &c. They say that they had become familiar to each other, and were made to understand by signs; that they now would return home, but would visit them next year again, when they would bring them more presents, and stay with them awhile; but that, as they could not live without eating, they should then want a little land of them to sow some seeds in order to raise herbs to put in their broth. That the vessel arrived the season following, and they were much rejoiced at seeing each other; but that the whites laughed at them (the Indians,) seeing they knew not the use of the axes, hoes, &c., they had

* The Delawares call this place (New-York Island) *Mannahattanink* or *Mannahattanink* to this day. They have frequently told me that it derived its name from this general intoxication, and that the word comprehended the same as to say, *the island or place of general intoxication*.

The Mahicanni, (otherwise called Mohiggans by the English, and Mahicansers by the Low Dutch,) call this place by the same name as the Delawares do; yet think it is owing or given in consequence of a kind of wood which grew there, and of which the Indians used to make their bows and arrows. This wood the latter (Mohicanni) call "*gawaak*."

The universal name the Monseys have for New-York, is *Laaphawcachking*, which is interpreted, *the place of stringing beads (wampum)*. They say this name was given in consequence of beads being here distributed among them by the Europeans; and that after the European vessel had returned, wherever one looked, one would see the Indians employed in stringing the beads or wampum the whites had given them.

given them, they having had these hanging to their breasts as ornaments; and the stockings they had made use of as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles (or helvies) in the former, and cut trees down before their eyes, and dug the ground, and showed them the use of the stockings. Here (say they) a general laughter ensued among them (the Indians), that they had remained for so long a time ignorant of the use of so valuable implements; and had borne with the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks for such a length of time. They took every white man they saw for a Mannitto, yet inferior and attendant to the *supreme Mannitto*, to wit, to the one which wore the red and laced clothes. Familiarity daily increasing between them and the whites, the latter now proposed to stay with them, asking them only for so much land as the hide of a bullock would cover (or encompass,) which hide was brought forward and spread on the ground before them. That they readily granted this request; whereupon the whites took a knife, and beginning at one place on this hide, cut it up into a rope not thicker than the finger of a little child, so that by the time this hide was cut up there was a great heap. That this rope was drawn out to a great distance, and then brought round again, so that both ends might meet. That they carefully avoided its breaking, and that upon the whole it encompassed a large piece of ground. That they (the Indians) were surprised at the superior wit of the whites, but did not wish to contend with them about a little land, as they had enough. That they and the whites lived for a long time contentedly together, although these asked from time to time more land of them; and proceeding higher up the Mahicanittuk (Hudson river), they believed they would soon want all their country, and which at this time was already the case. [Here ends this relation.*]

* At the head of this article there is a typographical error in the name of a tribe of Indians,—*Momeys* should be *Monseys*, often written *Minsis*. For an exact account of this and other Delaware nations, see GALLATIN'S "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes," a work of extraordinary ability, contained in *Transactions of American Antiquarian Society*, vol. ii. p. 44, &c.

I V.

A
HISTORY
OF THE
NEW NETHERLANDS,
BY
SIR N. C. LAMBRECHTSEN,
KNIGHT, &c.

Translated from the original Dutch,

BY THE LATE
FRANCIS ADRIAN Van der KEMP,
Honorary Member of the N. Y. Historical Society.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

It is with peculiar satisfaction that the following translation of the Chevalier Lambrechtsen's History of the New Netherlands is submitted to the public. Locked up in a language too often regarded as semi-barbarous, the authentic account which it contains of the early discovery and colonization of the Hudson, and the noble tribute paid by its distinguished author to the enterprising character and manly virtues of the hardy pioneers on our soil, have been wholly lost to most readers on this side of the water, for whom the work possesses an especial and high degree of interest. A copy of it was received by the Society as long ago as the spring of 1818, from the author himself, and a translation was furnished, in manuscript, by Mr. Van der Kemp the following year; but with the exception of two or three historical writers into whose hands the manuscript translation has passed,* few among us, it is believed, even of those who profess an interest in historical inquiries, have given themselves the trouble to obtain a knowledge of the only complete history of the first European colony on the banks of the Hudson. Under these circumstances, the present attempt to introduce the Chevalier's labours to an American, and especially to a New-York public, is made, as before remarked, with peculiar satisfaction.

The author, who is believed to be still living, is a gentleman of considerable rank and reputation in his own country, having been Grand Pensionary of Zealand, and connected with many learned societies in Europe; he is also well known to many of our countrymen who have visited Holland. In 1816, he applied to this Society, through a gentleman at Amsterdam, for information concerning the early history of this city and state, when the Corresponding Secretary was directed to forward to him a copy of the two volumes of Collections then published. He was at the same time elected an Honorary Member; from which circumstance he was probably led to dedicate his work to the Society, together with others to which he sustained a similar relation.

* Bancroft, Moulton, and perhaps others.

The work was handsomely printed, in a volume of duodecimo size, accompanied by a large map of the New Netherlands ; and the copy sent to the Society, was enclosed to John Pintard, Esq., with the following letter :—

MIDDELBOURG, 25 *Juillet*, 1818.

M. PINTARD,

Secrétaire de l'Académie Historique, à New-York :—

MONSIEUR,—Supposant que vous aurez reçu avec ma lettre du 18 Avril dernier un exemplaire de mon Histoire abrégée de la découverte et des événemens de Nieuw-Nederland, ci-devant Colonie de la République des Provinces Unies en Amérique, j'ai l'honneur de vous faire passer la Carte Géographique relative à cette pièce, d'accepter l'un et l'autre pour vous, et de présenter à la Société Historique à New-York un autre exemplaire plus decent, joint dans ce paquet.

Je vous prie de remettre à mon cousin Van Polanen demeurant dans votre ville la lettre ci-jointe, et de faire passer un autre à M. Van der Kemp.

Il me sera agréable d'apprendre, que mon travail n'a pas été entièrement inutile, et a été bien accueilli par votre respectable Société.

En l'assurant de mon respect, j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, avec la considération la plus distinguée,

Votre très humble serviteur,

N. C. LAMBRECHTSEN,

Van Ritthem.

TRANSLATION.

MIDDLEBOURG, [HOLLAND,] *July* 25, 1818.

MR. PINTARD,

Secretary of the Academy of History at New-York :—

SIR,—Supposing that you will have received with my letter of 18th April last, a copy of my brief History of the discovery and affairs of the New Netherlands, formerly an American colony of the Republic of the United Provinces, I have the honour to

transmit a map illustrative of that work, begging you to accept both for yourself, and to present to the Society another copy, of a more decent exterior, enclosed in the same packet.

I pray you forward one of the accompanying letters to my cousin, Van Polanen, a resident of your city, and the other to Mr. Van der Kemp.

It will afford me great pleasure to learn that my labours have not proved entirely useless, and that the work has met with a favourable reception from your respectable Society.

With the assurance of my respect for the Society, I have the honour to be, sir, with the most distinguished consideration,

Your very humble servant,

N. C. LAMBRECHTSEN,
Of Rittthem.

The translator, the late Francis Adrian Van der Kemp, Esq., was the same gentleman to whom the task of translating the records of the Dutch Colony was committed by Gov. De Witt Clinton, in 1818, which he is believed to have executed with great clearness and accuracy. These documents, filling twenty-five folio volumes, deposited in the office of the Secretary of State at Albany, form an invaluable repository of materials for the future historian. Mr. Van der Kemp was originally from Holland, but resided for many years at Oldenbarneveldt, a village about two miles from Trenton Falls, near Utica, where, with his friend, Col. Mappa, he was among the original proprietors of the soil. He is said by Mr. Spafford to have been "a fine classical scholar, and a volunteer patriot in the cause of America while struggling for independence."*

· EDITOR.

* Gazetteer of the State of New-York, (second edit.) Article,—TRENTON.

A
SHORT DESCRIPTION
OF THE
DISCOVERY
AND
SUBSEQUENT HISTORY
OF THE
NEW NETHERLANDS,
A COLONY IN AMERICA,
(AT AN EARLY PERIOD,)
OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED NETHERLANDS.

By N. C. LAMBRECHTSEN,
Of Ritthem,
Knight of the Equestrian Order of the Netherland Lion, President of the Zealand Society of
Sciences, Honorary Member of the New-York Historical Society, &c.

M I D D E L B U R G :
S. VAN BENTHEM, Printer of the Zealand Society of Sciences.
M DCCC XVIII.

TO

THE SOCIETY OF SCIENCES IN ZEALAND;

THE SECOND CLASS OF THE ROYAL NETHERLAND INSTITUTE;

THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND BELLES LETTRES
AT BRUSSELS;

THE NETHERLAND SOCIETY AT LEYDEN;

AND

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AT NEW YORK;

WITH

THE RESPECTFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT

OF HIS RELATION,

AND IN TESTIMONY OF HIS RESPECT,

By their Associate,

N. C. LAMBRECHTSEN,
Of Rittthem.

SHORT DESCRIPTION, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

As often as I recall the illustrious periods of the history of our Fatherland, and contemplate the heroic achievements of our ancestors, I cannot avoid being enraptured by them to such a degree that they overpower my whole soul, and keep my curiosity and ardour for inquiry bound, as it were, by the spell of enchantment. The great associations of the East and West India Companies, who imported such immense treasures into the Fatherland, were the happy results of bold and often hazardous individual enterprises, which immortalized the names of those noble Netherlanders who directed or executed them.

Money, the sinew of war, was required to resist the powerful forces of Philip; and what could be better undertaken at that period, than, following the advice of the French Admiral de Coligny, to try their fortune at sea, and endeavour to take from the enemy what he had acquired in distant countries, at the risk of his life and an immense expense. This was successfully executed by the *Water geuzen*, (water beggars,)* while others preferred to assail the enemy in his foreign possessions, conquer these and his ships on foreign coasts, and plant colonies where thus far the name of Netherlands was unknown. Instructed in the defence of the noble cause of liberty, so boldly and successfully undertaken, and longing to share in the profits with which the transatlantic countries enriched that nation, they pursued him into every part of the globe.

* Thus were the confederated Dutch nobles, headed by Brederode, stigmatized before Margaret of Parma, by the count of Barlaimont, to assuage the fears of the Dutchess, "*ces ne sont que de Gueux.*" *Hoofst Hist.* 77. Strada, p. 223. By drinking a *nappe*, (goblet,) which was with a beggar's-bag hung by each guest in his turn on his neck, they pledged themselves, one to another, with these words:—

"Par ce pain, par ce sel, et par cette beance—
Jamais les Gueux ne changerons, pour chose que l'on fasse."—*Dutch Lyr.*—TRANS.

The mariners ceased to be a band of poor fishermen, a gang of pirates or stragglers, and became soldiers, who endured perils on land and at sea, under the Boisots, the de Moors, and other naval commanders, and were trained up by them, eagerly fastening on spoil, with a deep inveterate hatred against Spain and the Inquisition.

Such were the inhabitants of our seaports. If men of war or privateers were to be equipped against the enemy, or fishing vessels to be despatched, to collect the treasures of the North Atlantic or Frozen seas ; were there required expert steersmen, and undaunted sailors, the merchants, as well as the states, found here always a rich supply.

It is true, many, very many perished in these perilous expeditions, but their loss could not be observed in the seaports. On the contrary, these became the refuge to other nations, who smarted and sighed under the iron sceptre of despotism and the Inquisition, and were lured hither, partly by the advantages of commerce and navigation, partly by their prospect of enjoying tolerance in religion. How many reformed families arrived here from Flanders and Hainault, forming congregations yet bearing their name, and transporting hither with their virtues and industry, their manufactures and commerce. How many Englishmen sought a refuge in the tolerant Netherlands, to save themselves from episcopalian power and insufferable domination.*

It is not my province to detail the beginning, the progress, and struggles of the societies of commerce in our Fatherland, particularly those of the once powerful East and West India Companies. Several authors have recorded their glorious undertakings, and preserved the memory of many brave Netherlanders, who opened the richest springs of commerce, either by the discovery of unknown coasts, or by the conquest of transatlantic countries.

The East India Company was indeed more fortunate than that of the West Indies. The latter made important conquests in the Brazils, but was finally compelled to surrender the whole again to the Portuguese, the first conquerors. They possessed in North America such an extensive country, that they were justly entitled to give to it the name of New-Netherlands ; but this the Netherlanders were obliged to give up to the English, who established themselves there, and thus exchanged the name of New-Netherlands for that of New-England.†

* The same remark is made by Lucy Aikin in her *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, with regard to the Dutch emigrants at Norwich, where they found protection. (vol. ii. p. 53.)—TRANS.

† More correctly, NEW-YORK.—ED.

Discovery of New-Netherlands.

The events relative to the New-Netherland possessions in the Brazils, and along the coast of Guiana, are recorded by several historians in the Netherlands; but what is the reason that we know so little of the events in New-Netherlands, in a connected view and chronological order, although this beautiful and extensive country was in the possession of the Netherlands during a period of more than fifty years? Why is there so little, deserving any notice, preserved of it in the records of the West India Company, at least in so far as it was in my power to inquire? or was it the department of Amsterdam alone* that superintended the commerce of New-Netherland, while Zealand had appropriated to herself that on the Brazils? I am inclined to believe this, as I discovered several proofs of the jealousy of the merchants in Holland in respect to the commerce of those of Zealand, to which unhappy propensity, agreeably to the observation of impartial historians, the loss of the Brazils ought to be ascribed, since those of Holland declined to assist that colony, notwithstanding those of Zealand solicited it most earnestly.†

But whatever may be the fact, I feel a pleasure in fixing my attention on that beautiful and blessed country in North America, formerly named New-Netherlands; and in preparing, as far as my abilities extend, a short description of its discovery, colonization, and events relative to it, till that period in which it changed its ancient name for that of New-England.

I shall for this purpose make use of the most accredited historians, and endeavour to execute my plan in a chronological order, by comparing them carefully one with another.

I flattered myself to be much benefited by a little but rare work, having the title of "*Description of New-Netherlands as it now is, by Adrian Van der Donck, who resides yet in New-Netherlands,*" with documents and a small map; the second edition published at Amsterdam in 1656; but I was disappointed, as it contained chiefly a description of the products of the soil, its climate, customs (manners) of the savages, animals, &c.; while the reader is referred‡ with regard to the right of possession of our nation in New-Netherlands to a certain "*Exposition (Vertoog) of the Community in New-Netherlands,*" which was published; while the author further mentions a *small Treatise* on the North river, and a *Letter of Johannis*

* This is made evident by the colonial Dutch records, preserved yet in the Secretary's office of the State of New-York.—TRANS.

† Zealand and Holland are provinces of the Netherlands; but with us the name of HOLLAND is commonly used for the whole country, instead of Netherlands.—Ed.

‡ The work of Van der Donck is in the library of the University of Leyden.

Megapolensis, junior, formerly a minister of the gospel in the colony of *Rensselaerwyck*;* but I could not obtain either of those three pieces.†

The work of A. Van der Donck contains, nevertheless, a few particulars, and is adorned with a small map, which deserves attention for the Dutch names therein appearing.

The commerce to the Indies, whose rich products were thus far imported from Portugal, originated before the end of the 16th century. The voyage was undertaken along the cape (the Good Hope) to India, and so on to China. The first trials were successful, but the voyages tedious by their length. The merchants of Zealand had already attempted, before those of Amsterdam, to discover a passage to India through the north, or along the strait of Way-gats.

The enterprise was more than once rendered void. Jacob Heemskerck, encouraged by munificent gifts, engaged in this expedition for the third time, in the year 1596, but was equally unsuccessful.

Now the prospect was given up in our Fatherland of reaching India by such a perilous course, although neither here nor in England were they utterly deterred from attempting it.‡

HENRY HUDSON, sent out by the Netherland East India Company on a voyage, discovers New-Netherlands.

A certain Henry Hudson, a bold Englishman, offered his services to the directors of the Netherland East India Company in the year 1609, to search once more for a passage to China by the north or northeast. Hudson was, no doubt, a most proper person for such an enterprise. He had already undertaken a voyage, in the year 1607, in behalf of a few English merchants, and arrived at the Island *Spitzbergen*, previously discovered by the Hollanders. He had gained the confidence of his masters, in so far, that they sent him again to sea the next year (1608) with the same view.||

* Probably the treatise of *Megapolensis* here alluded to is the same published in the first volume of Hazard's State Papers, under the title of "A Short Account of the Maquaas (Mohawk) Indians, in New-Netherlands, &c.; written in the year 1644, by John Megapolensis, jun., Minister there. Translated from the Dutch."—Ed.

† Compare the interesting work of the industrious Scheltema, lately published, *Russia and the Netherlands*, tom. i. p. 41, 42.

‡ Compare Witzzen's "Voyage to Tartary," d. ii. p. 699. Holland Mercury, 1664, p. 155. Rymer's *Acta Publica Regum Angl.*, tom. vii. p. 2 p. 156. Robertson's *History of America*, v. 5, p. 12.

|| The journals of both these voyages of Hudson are from *Purchas' Pilgrims*, vol. iii. p. 567—610. London fol. ed. 1625. Inserted in the Coll. of the New-York Hist. Soc. vol. i. p. 61—102.

The inclinations of the directors of the East India Company were much at variance upon the proposals of Hudson. The directors of Zealand opposed it; they were probably discouraged by the fruitless results of former voyages, concerning which they could obtain sufficient information from their colleague *Balthasar Moucheron*, who long before had traded to the north.* It was, said they, throwing money away, and nothing else. If private merchants would run the risk they had no objection, provided the Company was not injured by it. The Amsterdam directors, nevertheless, would not give up their plan, and sent Henry Hudson, in the same year, 1609, with a yacht called the *Half-Moon*,† manned by sixteen Englishmen and Hollanders, again to sea.

This vessel left the Texel on the 6th of April, 1609, sailing towards the north. Prevented by the ice from reaching the latitude of Nova Zembla, they went to New-Foundland, and from there to Acadia or New-France, till they were driven into a bay known only to the French, who arrived there annually to purchase hides and furs from the savages. Hudson, unwilling to approach these chilling shores, returned to sea, and steering southwest discovered land, which was first considered to be an island, but which was soon discovered to be a part of the continent, named Cape Cod.‡

This industrious navigator felt (although born in England) so sensibly his relation to the Holland East India Company, who had employed him in discoveries, that he could not have hesitated a moment to give the name of his adopted Fatherland to this newly discovered country. He called it New-Holland. But not wishing to fix his permanent residence on this spot, Hudson preferred the sea, taking a southwest course till he discovered a flat coast in $37^{\circ} 35'$, which he followed in an opposite direction.

At this time he discovered a bay, in which several rivers were emptying, which, no doubt, must have been the South river, afterwards named Delaware. It has a projecting point, which then, or afterwards, obtained the name of Cape Henlopen, probably from the family name of the first discoverer. Now the bay was again left, and they steered N.E. along the coast at $40^{\circ} 18'$, where between Bardegat and Godinspunt, named thus afterwards in remembrance of him who first discovered this Cape, there was a good anchorage, to

* Balthasar Moucheron was one of the first founders of the East India Company, and one of the first trading merchants in Muscovy. His name is perpetuated in the Moucheron's river, on which is Archangel.

† This yacht is named in the *Notulen* of the Departm. of XVII., the *Good Hope*.

‡ Robertson, t. v. p. 42.

explore the country, and to open a communication with the inhabitants. But Hudson's curiosity was not so easily satisfied. He went again to sea, following the coast in the same direction, till the mouth of a large river was discovered, which then was named by the sailors the North river, and afterwards, in honour of the name of the first discoverer, Hudson's river.

This river was sailed up as far as could be effected, viz. to 43°. They became acquainted with the natives, and fully persuaded, as far as their inquiries went, that this river and country had never been visited by any Europeans. I dare not, nevertheless, decide if in this they were correct. The Rev. S. Miller, D.D., one of the ministers of the first Presbyterian church at New-York, and member of the Historical Society in that city, mentioned in a discourse delivered before that Society in 1809, that one John de Verrazzano, a Florentine, who was in the service of the French king, Francis the First, must have discovered, in the year 1524, in the ship *Dolphin*, the American coast in the latitude of 31°, and followed it to 41°; that he entered a large bay containing five islands, which may be taken, with great probability, for the present *New-York*; that he stayed there fifteen days, conversing much with the natives. The Rev. Mr. Miller refers to the journal of Verrazzano of July 8, 1524, which he borrowed from *Hackluyt's Voyages*, vol. ii. 295—300, which, with the conclusions of the Rev. Mr. Miller, is inserted in the *Collections of the New-York Historical Society*, vol. i. 19—60.

Certain it is, that Van der Donck, who resided several years in New-Netherlands, asserts, that he often heard the ancient inhabitants, who yet recollected the arrival of the ship, the *Half-Moon*, in the year 1609, saying, that before the arrival of the Netherlands they were entirely ignorant of the existence of any other nation besides their own, and that they looked at the ship as a huge fish or sea monster.*

The evidences of this writer, nevertheless, as well as those of Hudson himself, render it not improbable that Verrazzano landed in the bay of the present New-York, but the event must have taken place eighty-five years before, and might have been obliterated by the departure of a whole generation.

But whatever may have been the case, the vigilant Hudson resolved to return to Amsterdam, to communicate his report of the voyage to the directors.

The voyage was prosperous. But when he approached the English coast a mutiny was stirring among the crew, among which were several Englishmen. They compelled the skipper

* Van der Donck's Description of New-Netherlands, p. 3.

to enter Dartmouth, from which the rumour of his discoveries ere long reached the capital.

Nothing was more averse from the views of King James, than of allowing to the Netherlanders any advantages from transmarine colonies, while he, in imitation of Queen Elizabeth, desired to convert the whole to the profit of his own subjects. Hudson was considered as a person of importance, and he was forbidden to pursue his voyage towards Amsterdam, with the intention, ere long, to make use of his services.

I could not discover that a voyage to the South or North river was ever repeated by Hudson, but well, that he discovered, in the year 1610, a narrow pass of the sea to the North of Terra Labrador, called by him the Strait of Hudson, and a large bay to the south of Canada, to which he gave the name of Hudson's bay. This was the last voyage of this man. He was placed, with his son and five men, by a mutinous crew, in an open boat, a prey to the sea, and never was heard of any more.*

Account of the Discovery.

After the ship, the Half-Moon, had been detained at Dartmouth for some time, it was at length permitted to return to the Fatherland, where it arrived in the beginning of the year 1610.

And now did the directors obtain such favourable reports of the countries discovered by Hudson, that, in their opinion, these were a full compensation for their disappointment in their principal aim, the passage to India by the north.

De Laet, one of the Holland directors of the West India Company, who published in the year 1624 a history of the West Indies,† preserved a part of Hudson's journal, and made us further acquainted with the country of New-Netherlands, its inhabitants, climate, and natural productions.

It was yet, like other climates to which no Europeans had penetrated, in a state of nature, as it was formed by the hand of the Creator, or left by unknown events. Immeasurable woods with numerous swamps covered the soil. The savages lived along the rivers, and covered themselves with the skins

* Burke, *Hist. des Colonies Européennes dans l'Amérique*, tom. ii. p. 326. Raynal *Hist. Philos. et Polit.* tom. vi. p. 289. There is an extract of the journal of Hudson's last voyage in the *Collections of the New-York Hist. Soc.* tom. i. 146—188.

† De Laet, l. c. p. 100. Van Meteren, *Ned. Hist.* p. 626. The first writer has a small map, entitled *Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium, et Virginia*. (This map was not contained in the edition referred to, but in a subsequent one.—Ed.)

of wild beasts, increasing in the forests with great rapidity. These precious furs, so highly valued by luxurious Europeans, were the first objects of trade. The same woods supplied an inexhaustible provision for the construction of vessels. The soil's fruitfulness exceeded the warmest imagination, principally so along the rivers, when overflowing their borders, they left a rich loam behind. There was found not only Indian wheat, but grapes too, with other fruits.

The rivers were replenished with every sort of fish, and the adjoining seas were rich in cod-fish, tunnys, and whales. In short, New-Netherland, to make use of Hudson's own words, was the most beautiful country on which you could tread with your feet. The natives were good-natured, peaceable, and obliging; the climate pretty near at par with ours; so that therefore New Netherland was very properly adapted for our nation, to be settled by it, as there seemed nothing wanting but domestic cattle.

Several tribes of savages inhabited this uncultivated territory, and were in continual warfare one with another. Sustaining themselves by hunting, they roved along the numerous immeasurable plains of America, to return to the borders of rivers and bays, laden with the furs of beavers, otters, and other wild beasts, where the Netherland colonists and mariners were ready to barter other articles of comfort for these furs, then so highly valued in Europe.

Further Voyages to New-Netherlands in 1610 and 1614.

Hudson's favourable account of the country which he visited in America, was favourably received in our Fatherland, and inflamed the zeal of some merchants to equip a ship thither, which was carried into execution in the year 1610. They addressed too the States General of the United Netherlands, soliciting their privilege and encouragement, so that their High Mightinesses satisfied their desires by a placard of the 17th April, 1614, granting to the discoverers of thus far unknown countries, the exclusive right, besides other advantages, to make four voyages towards such lands.*

Hendrick Christianse and Jacob Helkens seem to have been the first who, in virtue of this grant, undertook a voyage to New-Netherlands, followed or assisted by Adrian Blok, Godin, and others,†

* Gr. Placard Book i. D. f. 563.

† Hendrick Christianse and Adrian Blok gave their names to two islands on the coast of America. The two capes on the South river are probably taken from Jelmer Hinlopen, (Scheltema i. 53.) and Cornelis Jacob Mey—being named Cape Hinlopen and Cape May, and the west cape of the North river Godin's Point.

They constructed, in the year 1614, a small fort on an island on the west side of the North river, of very little significance in itself, but fully sufficient to protect the colonists in their trade, and keep the natives in awe.

This fort was encircled by a moat eighteen feet wide, armed with two pieces of cannon, twelve stone-pieces, (*steen-stukken*,*) and ten or twelve men, under the command of the aforesaid Hendrick Christianse, and in his absence by Jacob Helkens.

If we may depend on De Laet,† the company must have established itself on a special grant of the States General, and built this fort in the year 1614. But as the West India Company did first obtain their grant (*octrooy*) in the year 1621, it is probable that it ought to be understood of a society of merchants who traded to the West Indies, and were the cause of the establishment of the West India Company.

Settling of the Swedes in New-Netherlands.

It cannot be well ascertained when the Swedes first visited this country. Agreeably to Sprengel they must have settled on both sides of the South river in the year 1631, while Raynal asserts that it happened about the year 1636.‡

Burke places the Swedes in the same rank with the Hollanders, saying, "It is not certainly known at what time the Swedes and Dutch made their first establishment in North America; but it was certainly posterior to our settlement in Virginia, and prior to that of New-England. The Swedes, who were no considerable naval power, had hardly fixed the rudiments of a colony there, ere they deserted it. The inhabitants, without protection or assistance, were glad to enter into a coalition with the Dutch, who had settled there upon a better plan, and to submit to a government of the States."§

The author of the British Empire in America acknowledges too,¶ that the first Europeans who settled in the Jerseys were Swedes, who constructed there a few small forts, as Christiana, Helsingburg, and Gothenburg, and that their prin-

* *Steen-stukken*, as defined by Holtrop, (*Dutch and English Dict.*, 1824,) means "*pedereros*, or swivel guns used in ships."—Ed.

† De Laet's *Description of the West Indies*, p. 106.

‡ Sprengel *Geschichte der Europæers in America*, i. D. p. 93. Raynal, t. vi. p. 362.

§ Burke's *Account of the first European Settlements in America*, vol. ii. 184. Ed. 1765.) The author quotes a French translation.—Ed.

¶ *British Empire in America*, 113.

cipal possessions were situated on the borders of Pennsylvania, opposite Helsingburg.*

If we can trust the narrative of Thomas Campanius Holm, whose grandfather had been a minister of the first Swedish settlers in America, the first colonization must have taken place in the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, who, upon the favourable reports which he received, did give a grant on the 2d July, 1626, to erect a West India Company, with intentions to navigate to New Sweden, (as this author calls it.)

The first colonists, as this author says, desired to live in peace with the natives, purchasing therefore from them the whole country between Cape Henlopen, and the large waterfall on the South river; while the English renounced, upon the entreaties of the ambassador Oxenstiern to king Charles I., in the year 1631, their claim arising from more early discoveries, and the Swedes succeeded in pacifying the Hollanders, who had constructed three forts in that district, but which had been destroyed by the natives, when they purchased every claim from the States, to which the Netherlands, in virtue of prior possession, were supposed to be entitled; and the aforesaid author, T. C. Holm, appeals, in proof of these facts, to two reports of Governor John Rising.†

Although there are several reasons to question the accuracy of these reports, I will nevertheless believe, that the Swedes receiving no succours, after the death of king Gustavus Adolphus, in the year 1632, from their government, and thus of course, threatened with expulsion from the country by the natives, were obliged to call for the aid of their Holland neighbours, and at last to place themselves under their protection, after a trial of sixteen years, as reported by Raynal.‡

If the Swedes acted in this manner by necessity, it had in the end a tendency to promote their welfare, as they now shared with the Hollanders in the fur trade, which diminished from time to time, and was never the most flourishing in the vicinity of the rivers; so that, which however happened at a later period, they were obliged to look out for a more profitable trade with the savages in Canada.

The want of mutual harmony between the two nations must in the mean time have increased, and have given birth to distrust and quarrels; of which the English, no doubt, took advantage, and at length open hostilities ensued, as will appear in the sequel.

* This Helsingburg is misnamed in our maps *Elzenburg*. Some other Swedish colonies existed on the west side of the South river, as Finland, Up-land, Gripsholm, New Vasa, and others.

† This is borrowed from a treatise named, "An extract from a translation of the History of New Sweed-land, in America, written in Sweed by Thomas Campanius Holm," &c. in the Collections of the Historical Society of New-York, tom. ii. p. 345, &c.

‡ Raynal, l. c. tom. vi. p. 332.

The Netherland West India Company engaged in voyages to New-Netherlands.

What thus far, viz. in ten or twelve years after the discovery of Hudson, was effected by Holland merchants or adventurers, neither corresponded to the great hopes that had been raised nor overcame the jealousy felt towards the more successful English and other neighbours, to whose competition they were exposed.

It was reserved for the West India Company, when acknowledged by the States General, in the year 1621, and authorized to send all vessels to the countries in America and the West Indies, beginning from the south of Newfoundland, and empowered to plant colonies and construct forts, and make treaties with the natives, to transform New-Netherlands into a fruitful and flourishing country.

It cannot be doubted that the great advantages which the English received from Virginia, were contemplated in the Fatherland with envy, as the tobacco was transported from there in large quantities to Holland and Zealand, particularly to Middleburg and Vlissingen, in both which cities magazines were erected for tobacco.*

Some vessels were then equipped to the North river, not only to make new discoveries, but to settle the country and provide it with dwellings.

A negotiation was opened with the natives for the purchase of several tracts on the continent and islands, at a settled, and no doubt very moderate price. In this manner were acquired Staten and Nut islands, Pavonia, Hoboken, and the island Manhattan on the North river, well situated for trade, and provided with a safe anchorage.

The West India Company made a farther purchase near Cape Henlopen from the natives, of a large tract of land, named Zwanendaal, (Swan-vale,) while they built on the east side of the same river a small fort, known by the name of Fort Nassau.

Construction of New-Amsterdam and Fort Orange.

A fort was constructed on the island Manhattan, now the property of the company, under the superintendence of the first governor, Hendrick Christianse, which was named Fort Amsterdam. But commerce required very soon the enlargement of the capital. Many houses were built, and ere long a small city was laid out. It was secured by walls and moats, a church

* Robertson, L. c. tom. v. p. 83.

was built, a prison, and a mansion for the governor, besides several houses for individuals, chiefly merchants of Amsterdam. It was natural that the new city obtained the name of New-Amsterdam.*

A large tract of land to secure the fur-trade was purchased from the natives on the west side of the North river, at a distance of one hundred and seventy miles from the capital, where a fort was constructed, named Fort Orange, afterwards Albany. Here a lucrative trade was opened in Canadian furs with the Iroquois, then at war with the French, with which they cheerfully parted for brandy and small trinkets, but chiefly for gunpowder and fire-arms.

The honesty with which the Netherlands traded with the savages, was unquestionably a great cause of the profit which they obtained from this trade. They kept their word in all their contracts, and never tried to impose upon the ignorance of these barbarians.

Opposite to the continent was Long Island situated; separated from it by the East river and stretching itself to the mouth of the North river. Its fertility was known, which induced the company to obtain its property, partly by purchase, partly by taking possession of the remainder, so as clearly appears by the names of several villages, known on the maps, as New-Utrecht, Amersfoort, Breukelen, Heemstede, Vlissingen, s'Gravezande, and others; not to mention the islands along the coast, distinguishable by their Netherland denominations.

So many fruitful districts were no doubt very important as well as extensive. These were nevertheless yet increased in the year 1633 by the purchase of the territory of Connecticut, situated to the west of Fresh-water river, (*the Connecticut*), twenty to twenty-one miles from the sea-coast, being a most beautiful and fertile tract of land.† The Governor General van Twiller made that purchase from the Pequatos, who conquered it from other tribes. He too constructed at a very early period a block-house in its defence, named Fort Good Hope.‡

* An engraving of New-Amsterdam may be seen in Montanus, in his Description of the new or unknown World, p. 124, and at the foot of the Map in Van der Donck's New-Netherlands. (Both of these now rare books are contained in the library of this Society.—ED.)

† With regard to the beauty and fertility of the Connecticut see Brissot's Voyage to America, t. i. p. 142.

‡ I have followed in my narrative chiefly the description of the borders of New-Netherlands, joined to a memoir on the limits of its jurisdiction, being an App. to a Mem. of the directors of the West India Company to the States General on the 29th Sept. 1634, to be found in Beverningk, p. 604.

First form of government.

Of whatever importance to the prosperity of the Fatherland were the conquests in the West Indies, from the Spanish, Portuguese, and natives, they were not left to the arbitrary whims of the conquerors and naval commanders; no, the States General established about the year 1629, some articles of order and government, whose prompt and faithful execution they required in the conquered places.

They authorized the different departments of the West India Company to appoint a Council of nine persons, who should be entrusted with the command of the whole.* The precautions which had been taken to secure its success, may seen from the privileges and exemptions for patrons, masters, and private individuals, who shall plant colonies in New-Netherlands, or import there any cattle, &c., from the 10th of March, 1628.† The following were the principal points:—

The West India Company should reserve to itself besides the fur-trade, the island of Manhattan also, both to cultivate it, and to erect there a staple place for commerce, while the colonists were privileged to settle four miles along the coast, or along navigable rivers, or two miles on both sides of these, provided they did satisfy the natives for the lands, of which they had taken possession.

The colonists might navigate along the whole coast of Florida to Newfoundland, provided they imported their merchandise to the Mannhattans and paid a recognition of 5 per cent.

They were privileged to sail for fishing cod all along the coast of New-Netherlands, provided they carried it directly to Italy, and paid six guilders per last to the company.

Wherever they took any vessels of the enemy, within the limits of this grant, they were holden to conduct them to the Fatherland, enjoying then two-thirds of their value.

The colonies were farther entitled to send from each river or island, a deputy to the council of the Director General and his Councillors in New-Netherlands.

The States General added another restriction to these measures of the West India Company, for the encouragement of merchants and colonists, viz., when they published in the year 1633, an order and regulation in conformity with which all armed vessels, privateers, were permitted to sail from the United Netherlands within the limits of the grant to the West India Company, "except the coast of Africa, New-Nether-

*[Great Placard Book, t. ii. p. 1235.

† This is to be found in the Notulen of the department of XIX, in March, 1628. These too were separately published at Amsterdam, 1631.

lands, and all other places whatever, to which the Company was trading."^{*}

Extension of New-Netherlands, and delineation of its districts.

To form an idea of the situation and extent of New-Netherlands, one ought to inspect the annexed map, which, to prevent geographical mistakes, I ordered to be drawn on the scale of the new map of North America by Arrowsmith, adopting the Low-Dutch names of the maps of Montanus† and Van der Donck, at least in so far as these in my opinion might be subservient to illustrate history; while the sea-coast and islands in the same direction are given in the sea-atlas of Arend Hoogeveen.‡

The country, as far as it was discovered and taken possession of by the Netherlands, extended from 38 deg. 53 min. to 42 deg. north, beginning on the south-west, at the South river or Delaware, and ending on the north-east at Cape Cod, including Long Island, Nut Island, Staten Island, Manhattan Island, and different other islands, as well along the coast, as in the bays and on the rivers.¶

It is more difficult to determine the inland extent of New-Netherlands. On the North river it may, at least, be calculated to extend as far as the colony Rensselaerwyck and Fort Orange, one hundred and fifty miles from its capital New-Amsterdam, and on the Fresh-water river, (the Connecticut,) to Fort Good Hope. The other limits are uncertain.

No doubt it was a happy choice of the Netherlands in laying the foundation of their possessions on the island Manhattan, and on both sides of the North river, a charming deep stream, navigable for sea vessels till above Fort Orange, as it opened the most favourable prospects; but the jealousy of their English neighbours, on either side, obscured soon these bright prospects, and finally extinguished them.

The West India Company, so gloriously victorious over the Spanish silver fleet, by their admiral Piet Hein, spared no

* Gr. Placard Book, t. i. p. 599.

† The map of Montanus includes the country between 37° and 49° north, and is thus much larger than the small map of Van der Donck. In the ii. t. of the Atlas of Blauw is another map with the inscription, "Nova Belgica et Anglia Nova."

‡ Arend Hoogeveen published his maps in 1675, under the title of "Brandend veen" (Burning peat-soil); among these are Nr. 27—28—29, relative to New-Netherlands. He obtained authority from the States General to navigate to the Australian Sea, on which he published a treatise at Middelburg in 1676.

¶ The coasts and limits of New-Netherlands would probably be better distinguished on the figurative map, which the directors of the West India Company presented on the 26th September, 1654, to their H. M., as Beverningk mentions, but I could never discover it.

longer any expense to secure the possession of New-Netherlands by the construction of forts and fortifications around the capital. But its extensive possessions, both in America and on the coast of Guinea, with the equipment of numerous armed vessels, required such vast sums of money, and the warnings of sound politics, so much prudent circumspection towards England, that it seems they were more anxious to defend themselves against the natives than against their neighbours; trusting rather on their mutual interest, and on measures of equity and discretion. But the event proved soon that in this they miscalculated.

England's relation to North America and its Emigrations thither.

If Virginia, (discovered by Walter Raleigh in 1584,) was at first scantily peopled, and at last abandoned, the English king (James I.) soon took notice of the advantages of transmarine colonies. He established in the year 1606 two companies, one in London and the other at Plymouth, of which the one should direct the trade to Virginia, the other that on the northern part of America, afterwards called New-England by his son.

The Plymouth company was less successful than that of London. The first ship was taken by the Spanish; and a small fort, constructed in the following year at Sagadahoc, a cape at 44° north,* abandoned; the climate being so severe, that the whole enterprise was confined to a few small vessels to assist the fishing at Cape Cod.

The famous English sea-commander, John Smith, who visited Cape Cod in 1607, surveyed again in 1614 the higher coast of North America, between the bay of Penobscot and the aforesaid Cape Cod, and made himself a map of this coast. But however favourably his report was received in England, it seemed they were not inclined there as yet to exchange the paternal soil for the savage and bare countries of North America.† But ere long the disputes in England about the public exercise of religion gave it a new spur. Queen Elizabeth, although inclining towards the Protestant religion, would nevertheless preserve many ceremonials of the Romish church, notwithstanding the contrary opinion of a large number of

* Robertson, l. c. t. v. p. 129.

† An account of Smith's voyage and discovery is to be met with in the famous voyages to the East and West Indies, Leyden, by Van der Aa, in fol. t. ii., in which is a small map of the seacoast of North America, between Cape Cod and Penobscot, visited by John Smith.

her subjects, who preferred the simple system of Calvin, and hence were called Puritans.

They rejected the usages and discipline of the English church—the form of prayer—the kneeling at the Lord's supper—the prayers for the dead—the prayers and thanksgivings in the churches—calling all these antichristian abominations.*

Quarrels among the English emigrants considered as the cause of their dispersion.

The successors of Queen Elizabeth on the throne, James I. and Charles I., adopted imprudently these and yet more severe measures, and this was the cause of the violent religious contests, persecutions, and emigrations.

From the Puritans were distinguished the adherents of the Brownists, or Independents, among whom were men of probity and letters, but every one of them zealously attached to their principles. They exceeded all the other puritans in their obstinate contempt of the hierarchy, by a spirit of independence and intolerance.

The Brownists had left their country long before the end of the 16th century, and led by Johnson, Ainsworth, Smith, and Robinson, established congregations in conformity to their tenets at Middelburg, Amsterdam, and Leyden.

Robert Brown, the chief of that sect, and formerly a minister of the Bishoprick of Norwich, emigrated before, with some of his sectarians, in the year 1588, to Middelburg, established there a congregation, which was, however, soon dissolved, partly by their natural dissensions, as by the departure of Brown to England in the following year; although it was afterwards re-established by the arrival of new members, but it adopted at last the liturgy of the Netherland churches.†

The congregation of Brownists established at Amsterdam in the beginning of the 17th century by Johnson and Ainsworth was of a longer duration, but was at last entirely destroyed;‡ while the congregation at Leyden, established about the same time on the principles of the Brownists, by Dr. Robinson, and directed by him with much prudence, was already dissolved, partly by the death of the aged members, partly through the

* Compare about their doctrine, Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, t. i. ch. 6; Hume's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. v. p. 155, &c.; Wendeborn's State of Sciences in Great Britain, t. ii. p. 233.

† Nomenclature of the English Congregation at Middelburg, p. 1, &c.; Neal, t. i. l. c. 1 div. p. 56.

‡ Wagenacr's Defen. of Amsterdam, t. iii. b. ii., and sec. 15 of t. ii. p. 174, in fol.

apprehension of Robinson and other leaders, that the discovery of the truth, as made in the Holy Scriptures, was in danger of becoming limited, after the example of the Protestant churches, whose doctrine, as pure, he otherwise respected.

It was then agitated to leave Holland, and transfer their doctrine and morals to another hemisphere; at last, in the year 1620, after a solemn fasting and praying, it was concluded upon by the younger part of the congregation to remove to America, under the protection of the king of England. They particularly had in contemplation that part of North America which was already inhabited by some English families, viz., Massachusetts; and now it was not a difficult task to associate with a few English merchants, and obtain as well the consent of the king of England as of the Virginia Company to establish themselves there, save their civil and religious liberties.

Whether any members of the congregation of that sect in Amsterdam and Middelburg, or members of other puritanical churches in Holland* joined the Brownists at Leyden, it has not been in my power to ascertain; neither does it appear probable, as the emigrants only made use of two ships, one of sixty and the other of one hundred and eighty tons for this voyage, taking with them many necessaries for this new colony, besides that their number is only calculated at one hundred and twenty.

When every preparation was made for their departure to North America, a fast and prayer day was celebrated, when Robinson took his leave of the remaining members of the congregation with a sermon, preserved by Neal.† He declared that he bewailed the Protestant churches, that they would not go further than the reformers Luther and Calvin. They had been, indeed, burning and shining lights, but did not penetrate the whole counsel of God; and would, were they yet alive, cheerfully embrace a greater illumination, just as they had showed themselves in receiving that which they first accepted. He, therefore, admonished the congregation to leave behind the name of Brownists, and be always ready, in conformity with the rules of their society, to embrace every truth, which should be communicated to them from the written word of God; provided, that they should be always on their guard, trying and comparing what they ought to accept as truth, &c.

* Many Puritans, abhorring the abuse of clerical power, had left England, together with their ministers, and established themselves in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Utrecht, and other places, where English churches of the Presbyterian caste had been established, and which were maintained by the government. Neal, l. c. d. i. p. 2, 31. [This valuable work, was republished by Dr. J. Toulmin; and at Newburyport, 1816, in 5 vols. 8vo.—TRANS.]

† Neal, t. i. p. 2. p. 86, 87.

In August, 1620, they left Holland, with the view, as Robertson says,* to establish themselves on the Hudson river; but, by an unfortunate accident, they arrived much farther to the north, and in November, about the beginning of it, at Cape Cod.

They unloaded their goods in an opposite bay, and began to build a city, to which they gave the name of New-Plymouth.

It was about this time that the English king (James) reformed the Plymouth Company, who had effected scarcely any thing to facilitate an establishment in North America, by founding the Great Council of Plymouth, granting to it the power by letters-patent, to settle a colony in New-England, and to distribute lots among the colonists. He died in the year 1625, but no alteration took place, by his death, in the politics of England with respect to the Puritans. They united therefore in larger numbers, and resolved to search for an asylum in North America, and to solicit the favour of the Great Council of Plymouth. This company, too, made them a gift of an extensive tract of land to the north of the river Merrimack, and three miles to the south of Charles river, and along the breadth of the Atlantic to the South Sea; while King Charles I., not less liberal than the Plymouth council, authorized them to govern their own colony.

Increased about the year 1629 to the number of three hundred persons, chiefly zealous Puritans, they left England, and settled in America, on a spot which they called Salem, in the bay of Massachusetts. Somewhat later the foundation was laid of Boston, Charlestown, Dorchester, Roxborough, and other cities; to pass by the settlements in Providence, Rhode Island, New-Hampshire, &c.

Thus far it seems the English emigrants settled and extended themselves rather to the north and east of the South river, without encroaching upon the districts, possessed by the Netherland West India Company, particularly not in the district of Connecticut; but the unhappy intolerance and fanaticism of the puritans in Massachusetts caused soon the disturbance of this peace. It might have been expected, that they in gratitude for the Dutch hospitality, which they had enjoyed during such a long period, at Leyden, Amsterdam, and other cities in Holland and Zealand, would have left the Netherland colonies unmolested; but pride and self-interest had eradicated entirely all sentiments of discretion and gratitude from their hearts.

It can scarce be believed, that men, so conscientious, that they considered themselves in duty bound not to make the least

* Robertson, p. 148. Neal, t. i. b. iv. p. 36.

concession in any disputed point about religious rituals ; men, so highly revering the Holy Scriptures, that they considered themselves in duty bound to distinguish their cities and villages by Biblical names, should so little care about their Netherland neighbours of the same religious profession, should so little respect their anterior possession.

Two ministers at Salem, a small city in Massachusetts; perhaps unequal in talents, but both obstinate in the defence of their principles, occasioned such excessive broils, that a separation became unavoidable, so that the Rev. Mr. Hooker with his followers left the city of Salem in the year 1633, retiring to the country of Connecticut, and the plantations of the Netherlanders, leaving the congregation at Salem under the care of his colleague, Cotton.*

Deplorable consequences of ignorance and intolerance, so much more pernicious, yea, so much more contemptible, in men who had tasted by experience their bitter fruits.

The emigrants from Salem on the west shore of the great river in Connecticut, without paying any regard to the more early possession of the Dutch colonists, much less even to the local grant, in behalf of the colony of Massachusetts, expelled two English noblemen who had settled there before their arrival.†

They built on a spot, which appeared to them convenient, a few miles above the Netherland fort Good Hope, a small city named Hartford, afterwards the capital of Connecticut's colony, and the irreconcilable enemy of the Dutch.

Encouraged by so much success, and perhaps guided by the advices of Cromwell, who corresponded continually with the leaders in each colony,‡ they threw away their mask, declined to acknowledge the authority of the original colony, and formed a government for themselves. Confiding in their numbers, they drove off their peaceable neighbours, as far as power could go. They built a fort on the Fresh-water river, calling it Tamhert Fort, to defend by it their colony against the east, having stretched themselves out towards the west, to the Bay of Greenwich, so that ere long the puritans of Salem approached the capital of New-Netherlands, within eight miles.¶

Even Long Island, separated by the East river from the continent, and without any question first discovered and settled by the Netherlanders, yea, as they declare, bought from the Indians, and adorned with several Netherland villages and forts, was a fertile country and blessed with several good harbours.

* Robertson, p. 179. Neal, p. 176.

† Robertson, p. 180.

‡ Ib. p. 200.

¶ About twenty-four English miles. *Tamhert* is probably a corruption of Stamford, which is not, however, on Connecticut river, but within less than forty miles of the city of New-York.—Ed.

Such a favourable situation, so desirable for the fishery, was alluring to the increasing English. Thus several of them settled on the east of that island, building two villages there, South Hampton and Southold, from which they afterwards claimed the half of the island.*

It is not here the proper place to give an account of the settling and progress of the English colonies in North America, but it ought to be remembered, how the revolution in England in the year 1642 animated the courage of the emigrants, since they now embracing the same religious principles with the popular party in both houses, might expect a firm support from them.

Four of the principal colonies formed themselves, ere long, into a political body; Boston and Plymouth in Massachusetts, and New-Haven and Hartford in Connecticut, concluding with another in the year 1643 a Treaty of Union, similar to that of the Union of Utrecht, with which the Brownists, during their residence in Holland, had become acquainted.†

Behold, as was foreseen by sagacious men, the foundation laid for the Republic of the United States of North America, which we, after a severe struggle, have seen increased in population, respectability and prosperity, and at last, in the year 1782, acknowledged as a free and independent state; and which we yet lately, after a short but obstinate warfare, have seen concluding a peace with that same potent realm, which two centuries before laid the foundation of that independence by its religious intolerance.

If Elizabeth, and still more, if both her successors on the throne of England, James and Charles, had followed other politics, and been less attached to the outward solemnities of religion and the authority of bishops, they would not have compelled their subjects, among whom were many excellent and learned men, to fly to the barren soil of North America; and the fertile lands between the Hudson and the Connecticut, (Fresh-water river,) might have remained perhaps a part of New-Netherlands.

But Providence had determined it otherwise—and its plans are always wise and beneficial, however dark and injudicious her ways and means may appear to us. If a true and increasing civilization was destined to take place in the wilderness of America, and an illustrious republic of different independent states to be formed, it required inhabitants who carried with them industry and religion, and who might perhaps be instrumental in communicating the doctrine of the gospel to the sa-

* Narrative of Beverningk, p. 607—9.

† Robertson, p. 196.

vage tribes of that extensive country. This was promoted by the emigrations from England, Scotland, Ireland, and many other realms and states; and the intolerance of the English government, as well as the fanaticism of the emigrated puritans, who, persecuting one another, spread themselves over the country of America, and co-operated to effect what a sound policy seemed to forbid.

Had Charles and Philip his son known the advantages of tolerance and exercised it, as recommended by religion and sound policy, never would the Republic of the United Netherlands have obtained existence and a rank among the powers of Europe, and rescued themselves from the dominion of intolerant Spain.

Had Louis XIV. consulted more his sacred duty, and the rights of his Protestant subjects, nor listened to the insinuations of his courtiers and priests, and not repealed the edict of Nantes, our Fatherland would never have received so many French emigrants in its bosom, who, by their industry, valour, and scientific endowments, were, agreeably to the plan of Providence, ordained to extend the population, promote the commerce and manufactures of Netherlands, and to maintain its independence; never would European discipline, brought hither by the French exiles, and eagerly adopted, have been introduced in the armies of Peter the Great, at least not at such a momentous period; and thus that intelligent monarch would have been unable to support his own authority, to protect his extensive empire, and execute his gigantic plans, so that he could not have laid the foundation for that greatness and power, of which France, in our days, felt all the energy, and to which the existence of that famous Holy Alliance must be ascribed.

Intolerance in religion finds at last its own grave in itself, and is, in the hand of Providence, the efficacious means to produce the most glorious effects in behalf of other nations to her glory.

But let us return from this digression to New-Netherlands—to contemplate there the development of great events, which English intolerance prepared against her will.

Mutual Jealousy between the Netherlands and English.

The extension of the English colonies in North America, and the arbitrary measures of their leaders, must have disquieted the Directors of the West India Company, who received from there continued complaints, as much as the States General; but they were too well acquainted with the pernicious effects of the envy and jealousy of their neighbours, on account of the in-

the king himself, who by the compact concluded* on the 17th April 1632, at St. Germain, surrendered all the places in New-France, Acadia and Canada to the French, was to be careful in not displeasing his subjects by any concessions to the claims of this state or New-Netherlands.*

After the peace was concluded at Munster, some misunderstanding arose with Cromwell, which soon ended in an open war. What then remained for the West India Company, which had work enough at hand with the defence of Brazil against the Portuguese, but the way of negotiation, and how little success might be promised by it?

Disputes with the English colonists about the limits.

The most serious disputes had in the mean while arisen in America between the director and council in New-Netherlands, and the commissioners of the United Colonies of Boston, New-Plymouth, New-Haven and Hartford, partly on the settling of the limits, partly on account of mutual insults to the inhabitants, which threatened open hostilities. The directors of the West India Company commanded the director, Peter Stuyvesant, to endeavour to prevent it by reasonable proposals for a provisional division of the limits.

In consequence of this the aforesaid Director, who went to Hartford in the year 1650, appeared before the legislature, assembled for this purpose, where uncourteously was negotiated a provisional division of the limits between the Dutch and English possessions.

It appears, that after the departure of Stuyvesant, this affair was seriously considered, as three commissioners were despatched to New-Amsterdam, to enter into a further deliberation with the director on this subject, and endeavour to bring the division of the limits to a final conclusion. This happened so indeed—although with the loss of an indisputable right and previous possession of the Netherlands.

A line was to be drawn on the continent from the bay of Greenwich, four miles from Stamford—towards the north, twenty miles long, provided it remained at a distance of ten miles from the North river.

The Netherlands were not to build within six miles from the division of the boundary.

The inhabitants of Greenwich were to remain as yet under the Dutch government, and the Netherlands to retain the land

* *Conduct des Français par rapport à la Nouvelle France, traduit de l'Anglois, avec des Notes d'un Français. Londres 1735. p. 103.*

which they actually possessed, as far as Hartford, while all the lands on both sides of the Fresh-water river (Connecticut,) should belong to the English. And thus it should remain, till a final decision should have been made between England and Holland.*

The Director Stuyvesant made his report of this agreement, as equitable as circumstances permitted him to obtain, to the Department of XIX, in a letter of 26th November, 1650.

During these disputes between the Netherland and English colonies in America, the dissensions in England burst out in open war. The parliament triumphed over the king. The unhappy Charles lost his head on the scaffold the 9th February, 1649, while the helm of government was entrusted to the hands of the fanatic and obstinate Cromwell, a man whom the acknowledged independence and prosperity of Netherlands so much displeased, that it was to be foreseen that open war must ere long be the consequence; especially when the States General refused an audience to his ambassadors, and had permitted the Prince of Wales, (afterwards Charles II.,) so near allied to the house of Orange, a residence in this country.

These were the circumstances of the times in the beginning of the year 1651, when the letter of the Director Stuyvesant was brought before the States General.

The embassy sent to England in the latter part of this year, to put an end to the already begun hostilities, was authorized also to propose to the English parliament the adjustment of the limits in North America. But there was so little inclination to negotiate with this Republic a treaty upon any equitable terms, that entirely new and most unreasonable proposals were made, which had nothing less in view than the entire annihilation of Netherland commerce and naval power, and even looked towards the dominion over the sea.

In this manner the negotiations were drawn out till the end of May, 1652, when the well known rencontre happened between the Netherland and English Admirals Tromp and Blake, before Dover, and the ambassadors of Holland were compelled to depart, without having attained their object.†

After an obstinate war of two years' duration, both parties, weary of fighting, concluded, after Holland had resolved on the act of seclusion, which was delivered to the English Protector, a treaty of peace between the State and England of the 15th April, 1654, without any express mention in the prelimi-

* Great Placard Book, t. ii. p. 1278.

† Fatherl. Hist. xv. p. 215—219 comp. the Not. of Zealand in Febr. 1652. Their High Might. resolved, on the fourth of March, 1653, that no *mandamus* of appeal should be admitted of any judgments given in New-Netherlands.

naries of the American convention with regard to the settlement of the limits.*

The subject, nevertheless, was not forgotten in our Fatherland. The directors communicated to the States General, by a letter of the 29th Sept., the provisional division of the limits of 1650, with a figurative map, soliciting that this might be delivered to the ambassadors, who in the meanwhile remained in England to negotiate a treaty relative to navigation and the compensation of damages, to make use of it at a proper season,† to which their High-Mightinesses agreed, without approving the division of the limits concluded at Hartford; either because they had some objections against it, or that they deemed it improper to explain themselves upon it.

The ambassadors of the Netherlands proposed then to the English commissioners, provided that it should be reciprocally approved, either to sanction the aforesaid division of the limits, or to leave it to the decision of the two governments of the colonies in America, as they were better informed of this affair, and so in their opinion would be most likely to promote their mutual peace and welfare, but with the approbation of both Republics.‡ They communicated this to the States General by a letter of 27th Nov. 1654, complaining, however, that they had not been provided with the necessary proofs relative to the first occupation of the Netherlanders, and the subsequent purchase of those districts from the natives, nor with the legal evidence of the concluded division of the limits, while the English pretended to be ignorant that this state had any possession in that district, or that any division of limits had taken place.¶

I find nothing farther about this negotiation, except that the States General on the 22d Nov., 1656, approved that division, probably with the view to promote the negotiations between the West India Company and the city of Amsterdam, with regard to the transfer of a part of New-Netherlands.§

New-Netherlands transferred to the city of Amsterdam.

The department of Amsterdam, to which it seems the government of New-Netherlands was transferred by the department of

* Gr. Plac. Book, t. ii. p. 522. Verbal of Beverningk, p. 357.

† Verbael van Beverningk, p. 602.

‡ Ib. p. 688.

¶ Ib. p. 693.

§ Gr. Plac. Book, t. ii. p. 1278. After I had written this narrative, I met with the Coll. of the Hist. Soc. in New-York, t. i. p. 189—303, in which is a collection of the letters and other documents, interchanged between the Netherland and English government in North America, taken from Ebenezer Hazard's Hist. Coll., which spread much light upon the history of that period.

XIX, finding the task too difficult to provide for all the expenses of its government, and believing that the authority of the city of Amsterdam would obtain from the States General more efficacious means to support the colony, and possess influence enough to remove the disputes about the division of the limits, determined to transfer a part of their possession in New-Netherlands to the city of Amsterdam; and clearly, as it appears to me, pointed to that part which was situated between the South and North rivers, and which justly was possessed *titulo emptionis* by the West India Company, as is evident from the resolution of the Council of Amsterdam of 3 March, 1656.

The magistrates, acquainted with the interests of that colony, presumed that by its cultivation all products were obtainable, which now were imported from the eastern seas, even masts, soon negotiated with the directors so successfully, that the purchase was concluded in the spring of 1656, for 700,000 guilders.*

As soon as this transaction was approved by the States General, six commissioners were chosen by the burgomasters, who should direct the concerns of the colony.† The magistrates of Amsterdam adopted some further measures in behalf of those who were willing to settle in that colony.‡

Here again religious intolerance offered its ready aid. More than three hundred Waldenses, (inhabitants of the pays de Vaud,) had taken refuge in Amsterdam, to avoid the persecution of the Duke of Savoy. They were there provided with necessaries, and departed, yet before the winter season, to New-Netherlands. They were followed in the next spring by three hundred more, and somewhat later by a respectable number of persons of different ranks.

Troubles between the colonists in Virginia and the Swedes.

There had existed, as we have already seen, serious disputes between the Netherlanders and their northern neighbours; but peace had been preserved between them and the southern colonies in Virginia.§

* Le Clercq Hist. of the United Netherl., t. iii. p. 129; the agreement itself is inserted in the Muniment Reg. of Amsterdam, b. 1. p. 118, &c. So it is said in Not. of the council of 12th July 1656, p. 121.

† The directors of New-Netherlands were Messrs. Conrad Burch, Councilor and late Alderman, (*oud-Schepen*), in Amsterdam; Hendrick Rosters, first commissary of Bank of exchange; Edward Man, Isaac Van Beek, Hector Pietersz, and John Tayspil.

‡ These conditions were inserted among the documents of the Description of New-Netherlands, by A. Van der Donck, and in the Collections of the New-York Hist. Soc., vol. i. 291

§ Van Beverningk, p. 603.

Mutual interests probably co-operated in this, and perhaps a coincidence in political principles, principally so after the death of King Charles, whose favours they so highly valued that they refused to acknowledge the authority of Cromwell. And when he, in 1651, had despatched a strong fleet to keep the Virginians in awe, the Netherland colonists did not hesitate to support with their vessels the resistance of their brethren, although it proved to be in vain.*

History leaves us more in darkness with regard to the Swedes, who settled on both sides of the South river, and in New-Jersey. It appears, nevertheless, that they united with the Netherlanders unwillingly, only looking out for a favourable opportunity to recover their ancient rights, and defend their independence; that they, to obtain this end, profited of the confusion, which, by the fall of Charles I., in the year 1649, took place in the government of Virginia, and still more in England;† that they further endeavoured to hire the natives to enter with them into a separate treaty of amity, so that they succeeded in the year 1654; and lastly, that they took possession of and repaired the forts, from which the Netherlanders had been expelled by the savages, before the arrival of the Swedes.

Fort Casimir was one of these. It was situated on the western shore of the South river, (the Delaware,) towards the lower part, and opposite to Helsingburg. It was in a state of utter decay, although for us of great importance. It was, of course, resolved to repair it, and probably to conquer the other forts situated on that river. I could not discover if they succeeded in this, neither if any hostilities took place between the Netherland and Swedish colonists; but I found that the Virginian planters, (either that they were instigated by the Swedes, or that the repair of Fort Casimir appeared to them full of danger,) headed by Colonel Nathaniel Utie, assaulted and levelled it to the ground in the fall of 1654‡.

If we can place confidence in the narrative of a Swedish writer,§ these quarrels between the Netherlanders and Swedes would have been terminated through the intervention of the governors, Stuyvesant and Rysing, with no further consequence, had not the former, notwithstanding the treaty of peace, renewed hostilities the following year; and having sailed up

* *Hist. de la Virginie*, p. 31, Amst. 1707.

† *Bachiene* on *Hubner's General Geography*, t. v. p. 673.

‡ See the documents in the city hall at Amsterdam, named the Declaration and Manifesto to the Governor and Council of Maryland, 6th Oct., 1659; and Extract from the Journal of Augustine Heerman, relative to the pretensions of Colonel N. Utie on the South river.

§ *Thos. Camp. Holm*, in vol. ii. of the Collections of the New-York Hist. Soc., p. 357.

the South river (the Delaware) with seven ships and six or seven hundred men, captured all the Swedish forts, particularly the fortress Christiania, after a siege of fourteen days, taking all the military officers and the principal inhabitants into custody, who were conveyed to New-Amsterdam, and afterwards to Holland.

This was unquestionably a severe measure, and perhaps not undeserving of reproach;* at least, the King of Sweden complained to the States General on the capture of these forts. It appears, nevertheless, to me highly probable that the conduct of our countrymen was justified by circumstances, as the alliance between the Swedes and the Indians seems to have been the cause of this renewed quarrel. And it is a fact, that in the fall of 1655, Fort Casimir was assaulted by more than five hundred Indians, instigated, as it may be presumed, by the Swedes. It was so far off that they could compel the fortress to surrender,† but it was brought by its defenders into a secure state of defence, and called New-Amstel; while the command of it, in 1656, was given to John Alrichs, by the directors of New-Netherlands, at Amsterdam. He, however, arrived there only in the spring of the following year, having been shipwrecked on Long Island.‡

*Situation of New-Netherlands since the war between the
Netherlanders and the English.*

The expenses of this colony were in the meanwhile far exceeding the calculations of the magistrates at Amsterdam, probably on account of the means employed for its defence, so that they deliberated, in the year 1660, respecting the surrender of New-Netherlands to the West India Company, who, nevertheless, declined its acceptance; there were, therefore, some sacrifices unavoidable in the hope of harvesting some fruits. The affairs, indeed, of this colony bore ere long a more favourable aspect, and some profits were of course obtained. The navigation and commerce to this part of the country soon increased so much that, if the war with Great Britain had not been rekindled again in the year 1664, New-Netherlands, whose riches and products could, as it was wildly thought, be compared with the East India possessions,||

* Kalm's Travels in North America, d. i. p. 6. 218—223, where he throws some light on the poor situation of the first Swedish planters, their manners, and customs.

† Not. of Holland, 24th March, 1658.

‡ Holland Merc., 1658, p. 43.

|| In the opinion of the directors of the West India Company. See Beveringh, p. 604.

might have become a gold mine for Amsterdam and the States of the United Netherlands.*

But whatever may have been the truth, the commissioners and directors on the South river, (the Delaware,) in New-Netherlands, felt themselves inclined, in the year 1663, to surrender the half of the colony to the city. The Count d'Estrades wrote, in one of his letters,† to the commissioners at Amsterdam, that it was not in the power of the States to transfer New-Netherlands to them, of which they, above the purchase money of seven hundred thousand guilders, had expended yet two millions, and of which the city of Amsterdam, after a deduction of all the expenses, collected more than sixty-three thousand guilders in rents annually.

But these splendid prospects were exactly the causes of the loss of this colony; as already, in the beginning, this discovery in the year 1609, by Henry Hudson, as well as the settlement and extension of the country, had excited the jealousy of the English, degenerating soon, and still more since the time of Cromwell, into a bitter hatred between the two nations, which, though unequal in power and population, and obliged by the mutual bonds of religion and politics to respect one another, nevertheless eradicated these softer feelings through envy and avarice, and the colonists eagerly imbibed similar impressions.

The director of New-Netherlands left in the meanwhile nothing untried to preserve the peace, maintaining the boundary division of 1650, and providing by an express proclamation against the abuses which had crept in by the obtaining and alienation of the soil.‡

Prudence and wisdom may by such means have prevailed here and there over open force; but the people of Hartford gradually became more obstinate, so that all endeavours to bring about an amicable settlement became fruitless. It was in vain that the director general Stuyvesant complained to the congress of the general assembly of the four English colonies, convened at Boston, in October, 1663, which he visited in person; it was in vain that the transactions of the people of Hartford were disapproved by the deputies of Boston, New-Plymouth, and New-Haven. They remained unmoved, pretending that their disputes had no respect to the general assembly, and related exclusively to their own colony. It was equally vain that the deputies of the director and council in New-Nether-

* Wagenaer's Descrip. of Amsterdam, t. p. 594, &c.

† It is a letter of the Count d'Estrades to Lionne, of 17th Sept., 1665. See Mem. d'Estrades, t. ii. p. 329.

‡ Holl. Mercurius, 1653, p. 43.

lands went thither, where they left nothing untried to preserve peace and harmony. It was in vain, too, that the people of Hartford declared that they knew no New-Netherlands, considered the possession of the West India Company unlawful, as not supported by any grant of the king of England, and therefore were resolved to extend their plantations as far as they pleased, yea, to take the whole of New-Netherlands by force, if they were opposed. A few zealots endeavoured, during the negotiations at Boston, to stir the Dutch villages to mutiny, while the savages of Esopus committed the grossest cruelties, by murdering several Netherlanders in their neighbourhood, hanging their heads before their huts. s'Gravezande and Heemstede, (*Gravesend and Hempstead*,) villages on Long Island, were lured to acknowledge the king of England. Those of the village of Vlissingen, (*Flushing*,) though chiefly consisting of English, remained faithful to their ancient masters, saying, that, having always been well-protected by the States General, they were averse to acknowledge others, and thus sprung up in the colony the greatest discord and confusion.*

What a deep sensation this misconduct of the English caused in the colony, may be seen in a letter of the West India Company, of 21st January, 1664, as literally inserted in the Holland Mercury of that year, and its principal contents by Aitzema.†

Foreseeing that a similar lot threatened them as the colonists in the Brazils, who, naked and plundered, were finally left at the mercy of the Portuguese, they despatched a few deputies to the Hague, to make the most solemn entreaties, as well to the States General as to the directors, soliciting that they might be soon relieved in their distresses by the arrangement of a just division of the limits, and that efficacious measures might be taken to stop the threatened violence.

These complaints were presented in the beginning of January, in the year 1664, and it was resolved to make an inquiry by a committee, but the received accounts of the conquests of the English Admiral Holmes soon put a stop to all further deliberations.

But let us return to Europe and take a view of events there.

New-Netherlands conquered by the English in 1664, and abdicated in 1667.

It might justly have been expected after King Charles II. had ascended the throne, in 1660, that peace with this state, to

* Holl. Merc. 1663, p. 168, and that of 1664, p. 10—13.

† Aitzema, t. v. p. 64. Holl. Merc. 1664, p. 13, 14. Riches of Holland, (E. Luzac,) t. ii. p. 146.

which his majesty did lay under such high obligations, would have been perpetuated. But it appeared very soon that the refusal to elect the young prince stadtholder displeased highly the king, and that he reluctantly concluded the treaty between the two states in 1662.*

The government, to protect itself against the malice of England, and on that account little inclined to execute the concluded treaty, entered into engagements with the French king, Louis XIV.; but this monarch, discontented at a secret negotiation between this republic and Spain, stirred in secret Charles II. against this state.

Ere long hostilities were commenced out of Europe. The Duke of York, the king's brother, had been despatched with a few vessels in the year 1663 to the coast of Africa, and was instructed† to take Cape Cors, and afterwards New-Netherlands. The enterprize was successful. Several Netherland ships and forts on the coast of Africa, were in February, 1664, conquered by the enemy, who then steered for America. The English fleet was respectable; a successful resistance was utterly impossible; so that New-Amsterdam was surrendered to the English in August, 1664, without a single blow. They conquered ere long all New-Netherlands, with the islands of Tobago and St. Eustatius.‡ They called the conquered country New-York, and gave the same name to the capital, New-Amsterdam.

The directors of the West India Company, as soon as they were informed of it, reported the event to the States General, 24th October, 1664. Their High Mightinesses received this report with regret, and transmitted copies of the memorial of the directors to the different provinces, admonishing them to promote, by their speedy consents, the negotiation of money to prosecute the war, and avert further calamities, as well in as out of Europe; while the ambassador, Van Goch, in England, was commanded to make the most serious representations to the king to restore the captured colonies and prevent similar enterprizes. With deep regret, however, this loss was heard in this country, since, as it had not been in their power to prevent it, they were not prepared to re-conquer what was lost. It seemed further that Amsterdam acquiesced in this loss, in the prospect of gaining three times as much, as orders had been issued to assail the possessions of the English in the East

* Vader. Hist., d. xiii. p. 47.

† This was openly acknowledged by the king. Letters of the Court, t. iv. p. 387.

‡ Vad. Hist. t. xiii. p. 118. The conditions of the capitulation in New-Netherlands are inserted in the Holl. Merc., 1664, p. 153; and in a Short Narrative of the English Wars, Amst., 1667, p. 28 and 29.

Indies, of which they either would retain the possession or exchange them again for New-Netherlands.* The hope was fostered, indeed, that the Republic of the United Netherlands would, at the conclusion of the negotiations for a treaty of peace, commenced in 1665, under the guidance of French deputies, and at the particular entreaties of Louis XIV., be re-established in the possession of New-Netherlands, whose loss was yet so deeply regretted.

The king of France proposed, in the meanwhile, on his own authority, to the states, to make a cession of New-Netherlands to the king of Great Britain, provided he left them the possession of the island Pouléron, &c. Such proposals were unacceptable in this country, more so, as the hope was fostered that France would, at last, declare itself against England.†

This war was continued for years: they fought bravely on both sides, and at last peace was concluded at Breda, on the 31st July, 1667, and by it stipulated that each should preserve the places, cities, and forts, which during the war had been taken, the one from the other, till the 20th of the preceding May.‡

New-Netherlands, which had been during three years in the possession of the English, was now completely and finally relinquished, and so was lost, at once, the fruit of more than fifty years' labour, with all the innumerable sums of money bestowed in the Fatherland in settling and improving this colony, the most flattering prospects of commerce and prosperity rendered vain, and numerous Netherland families reduced to poverty, whose support depended on the preservation of the colony.

However deeply the loss of this respectable colony was deplored, it was nevertheless in some respect lessened by the capture of the English colony Surinam, in April, 1667, by a Zealand captain, Abraham Krynzoon,§ despatched thither with three vessels by the states of Zealand; which colony of course was brought, in virtue of the treaty of peace at Breda, under the dominion of this state.¶

As often as we reflect on Surinam, the only New-Netherland colony on the coast of Guiana, we remember with gratitude the memory of its conqueror, Abraham Krynzoon,

* D'Estrades' Mem., b. ii. p. 294.

† The king excuses himself on this point in a letter to d'Estrades, of 17th August, 1663, saying, "That the condition of peace had been proposed to him by the Grand Pensionary De Witt, which his majesty desired that, with the knowledge of De Witt, at a convenient season, should be communicated to the States to prevent mistrust." *Oeuvr. de Louis XIV.*, t. iii. p. 315.

‡ *Vad. Hist.*, t. xiii. p. 265.

§ See on this valiant Zealander, *De la Rue Her. Zealand*, p. 190.

¶ *Vad. Hist.*, p. 406. *Hartzink's Descrip. of Guiana*.

our Zealand countryman, who annexed it in compensation for lost New-Netherlands to the crown of our Fatherland, which it yet adorns.

It is, nevertheless, a difficult task to give a fair decision, whether the loss of New-Netherlands was, in the course of time, compensated by the conquest of Surinam. This is certain, at least, that the surrender of the first named colony caused a great joy in England; and well might it have this effect, as by this the division wall, which prevented the union of the southern colonies of England in Virginia with those of the north, was removed; by this a new spring of agriculture and commerce was opened, and a dangerous neighbouring rival turned adrift.

The uncertainty of sublunary affairs and speculations was made evident in these prospects. It was suspected, when the English concluded this treaty, that it would not last long. It was not long before a dispute arose about striking the colours, when the war fire burned with far greater violence than even before.

New-Netherlands recovered by the Netherlands and restored.

The State was assaulted in the year 1672, not only by the crowns of England and France, but by the bishops of Cologne and Munster too.

The losses on land were immense, but at sea the honour of our flag was maintained valiantly.

Captain Cornelius Evertsen, son of the vice-admiral of the same name who fell in battle, being in the latter part of the year 1672 despatched by the states and admiralty of Zealand with a small fleet to the West Indies, steered towards the English colony in Virginia, where he took and burned a number of vessels. Meeting at Martinique a small squadron of four men-of-war, sent to sea by the admiralty of Amsterdam, under the command of Commodore Jacob Binkes,* he united with it, taking a large number of English and French vessels.

And now Evertsen and Binkes steered for New-Netherlands. The city of New-York was provided with forty pieces of cannon, but the governor was absent, so that confusion took place, and the conquest was made without great opposition.

Every seaport was taken, and ere long the whole colony, to which, by the conqueror, the ancient name of New-Nether-

* Jacob Binkes was a bold seaman, and fell in battle 1677, in the conquest of Tobago, by the Count d'Estrades. Vad. Hist. t. xiv. p. 376. 401. 443. Lives of Sea Heroes, p. 438.

lands was restored. This happened on the 9th August, of the year 1673.*

It is easily to be conceived what joy this illustrious triumph occasioned among the Netherland colonists, who had remained there. The valiant Evertsen, anxious and solicitous for the preservation of the colony, provided for a regular administration, and sufficient garrisons which had been sent with him, for the forts, the capital, and all such places as necessity required; taking a further precaution of leaving there two armed vessels for its greater security.

The government of conquered New-York, now named New-Orange, on the Island Manhattan,† communicated, in a letter of 8th November, 1673, to their High Mightinesses notice of this important event, despatching with it Cornelis Van Ruyren, Esq., who had been invested with different respectable offices in the colony, and was thoroughly acquainted with all its affairs; but having been compelled by a very heavy gale, which threatened the loss of his ship and life, to enter a harbour in New-England, he was despatched again with another letter, of the 10th of January, 1674, to the Netherlands.

It was said in that letter, that it had pleased God to bless the arms of the State in such a manner that the whole Province of New-Netherlands, consisting of three cities and more than thirty villages, was brought again under the obedience of their lawful sovereign, to the great joy of the inhabitants, and that great advantages might be foreseen from this event, especially if some families, who by the invasion of the French were nearly bereft of every thing, should be willing to settle in New-Netherlands, and some support might be afforded them during the first year; that this province, which scarcely wanted anything to promote its agriculture but settlers, would increase so much in value that, in process of time, it might become the magazine of grain and other necessities for the Fatherland, which were now carried thither from the Sound, as the district of Esopus, consisting of three villages, produced already and delivered about 25,000 schepels of grain; that in the meanwhile Caraccas and Surinam might supply the wants of New-Netherlands, and trade there with their products; that New-Nether-

* Not. of Zealand, 1673, p. 176—179, and of 1674, p. 21. 24. Holl. Merc., 1673, p. 170—263. Obs. on the Vaderl. Hist., t. xiv. p. 102.

† The magistrates called themselves the burgomasters and schepens of the city of New-Orange, on the island Manhattan, in New-Netherlands, and were the following persons: Anthony de Mill, Johannis de Pyster, Aegidius Luyck, Johannis Van Brug of Burg, Michiel Beekman, Jeronimus Ebbinek, Jacob Kip, Laurens Van de Spiegel, Guiliam Verplanck. This letter was kindly communicated to me by Jonkheer J. C. de Jonge, Adjunct Archivarius of the Realm of the Netherlands, whom I cordially thank for this and other communications.

lands was favourably situated for vessels cruising along to the west to bring their prizes there ; that above all, an oversight might be exercised there on the conduct of England, which, being once the mistress of the northern parts of America, would be enabled to equip there men-of-war, without the knowledge of other potentates, with which to assail our state and her allies ; to all which ought to be added the great advantages of the beaver and fur trade, besides other objects, which would be communicated by Mr. Van Ruyven.

They concluded, that for the recovery and preservation of the Province of New-Netherlands, immediate assistance and provisions were unavoidably required, without which they remained in danger of the machinations of their English and French neighbours, by whom they were surrounded, and who would continue to exert every nerve to take their revenge for the triumph of their High Mightinesses in this part of the world, by which the Netherland nation, being in that country only 6000 to 7000 strong, could expect nothing else than utter ruin and devastation. They therefore solicited their High Mightinesses to interest themselves in the preservation of this province, and to afford it all such aid, as might be deemed requisite for its safety.

Evertsen had, in the meanwhile, departed with his small squadron towards Cadiz, where he arrived in safety in December of the same year, after he had conquered the island of St. Eustatius.

The struggle of the allied powers had been, during this expedition, very violent and bloody. No wonder then, that the states, who had no other ally but the king of Spain, were inclined to peace. They made their various proposals to King Charles II., among others, to surrender New-Netherlands without any compensation.

A more flattering lure could not have been offered to the British prince. He accepted it without delay ; and peace was concluded under this proviso on the 19th of February, 1674, at Westminster.*

The States General resolved on the 16th of April to surrender New-Netherland to the English, which the West India Company was authorised to perform,† while the inhabitants of the colony were referred with their petitions to the king of England.‡ Thus New-Netherlands became once more an English colony, and separated for ever from the Fatherland ; while the Island of St. Eustatius, and the colony of Surinam, remaining till this day possessed by this state, are unquestionable monu-

* *Vad. Hist.* t. xiv. p. 298, 299. *Valckenier*, t. ii. App. No. 12. p. 68.

† *Not. of T. H. M.* 5. 11. 13. June, 1674.

‡ *Ib.* 4 June, 1674.

ments of the heroic courage and prudence of the heroes of Zeeland, Krynsoon and Evertsen.

Among the numerous heroic achievements of the Evertsens, this triumph deserves our gratitude. The Commodore Cornelis Evertsen, not degenerating from the courage and valour of his father and uncle, who both died in battle in the same year with glory, would have recovered New-Netherland for his Fatherland, had its preservation been possible, and this sacrifice not been required for the restoration of peace.†

Inquiry into the right of possession of New-Netherlands.

Here the concatenation of events, relative to New-Netherland, might be concluded, if it was not desirable to devote a few moments to the claims of right, on which the Republic of the United Netherlands defended their possession of New-Netherlands.

Nothing, indeed, more substantial can be brought forward in its defence, than the reasons by which the English government controverted them.

It pretended, that King James made a grant of this land to the Earl of Stirling by letters patent, under the great seal of England; that the Scots, long before the arrival of the Hollanders, made a beginning of cultivating that colony; that the Duke of York purchased the right of the heirs of the Earl of Stirling, and that of course the country called New-Netherlands, belonged legally to the English; that besides they only connived at the settling of the Hollanders, even as when they had settled in England or anywhere else, without acquiring by it any right of sovereignty for their Fatherland.‡

These then are the grounds on which, as D'Estrades relates, the chancellor of England tried to defend the rights of his master! Let us bring these shortly and fairly to the test.

If it was the question, whether King James had granted, at an earlier period than the States General, among his other gifts, the country named afterwards New-Netherland, for settling and cultivation, then perhaps the decision might be in his favour, as it is known, that King James, in his extravagant zeal to form transmarine colonies, granted as early as 1606, to two different societies of commerce, the exclusive right to trade in America,

* Cornelis Evertsen, born at Flissingen, 16th Nov. 1642, was the sixth son of the Lt. Admiral Cornelis Evertsen. See De la Rue, *Heroic Zeeland* p. 154, and J. de Kanter, *Phil.* i.

† Oration for the repair of the tomb of the Lt. Admirals Johan and Cornelis Evertsen, delivered at Middelburg, 18th April, 1818.

‡ Mem. D'Estrades t. ii. p. 289.

which he divided into two equal parts, between 35 and 45 deg., and thus from Nova Scotia to the south-western shore of Carolina, calling the one part, "The first colony of Virginia," or the Southern colony, and the other, "The second," or the Northern colony.* Neither can it be disputed, that King James approved and confirmed by different letters patent, the authority and privileges of these colonies, which he afterwards extended or limited; that he even in the year 1620, granted to the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Buckingham and other grantees, a more extensive right, than before, incorporating them under the title of "The great Council of Plymouth," to settle a colony in New-England.† But it is not less certain, that all the king's endeavours were fruitless, and that the enterprises of this new company remained unsuccessful; ‡ and why should, without a direct possession, the grant of navigation, trade and land-holding between the 34 and 45 degrees, by King James, even if it had been of an earlier date, be of more value and interest than that of the States General of the United Netherlands, who granted similar rights to the West India Company in the year 1621, between the $37\frac{1}{2}$ degr. and $41\frac{1}{2}$, when there existed already at that period Dutch plantations and forts?

Both these grants possess, in my opinion, except with an actual possession, no more value than those of the Romish pope Alexander VI., when he in his bull of 1493 divided all South America between Portugal and Spain. The whole unquestionably depends upon the original discovery and possession. These are the only titles of right, which nations can bring forward, the one against the other, to justify their permanent possession.¶

For this reason I made no mention of the voyage of discovery of John and Sebastian Cabot, who, sailing by the authority of Henry VII., king of England, to discover a passage through the North-west, probably did see the coasts of America, although they did not visit them.§

As on this basis, therefore, cannot be doubted the right of the English to the colonies of Virginia, which they first discovered and took possession of, much less could that realm dispute the right of the West India Company, which the Netherlands acquired by the discovery, settling, and cultivation of New-Netherlands.

In respect to the grant by letters patent in the year 1621, to the Earl of Stirling, secretary of state in Scotland, these were

* Robertson's Hist. of Amer., t. v. p. 46. Britt. Domin. in Amer., p. 172.

† Robertson, ib. p. 62. 71. 93. 152.

‡ Robertson, p. 156. Sprengel, Gesch. der Europ. in Amerika, p. 178.

¶ Puffendorf, Droit de la Nat. et des Gent. l. iv. cap. 6. §. 4.

§ Disc. of Dr. S. Miller in the Coll. of the N. Y. Hist. Soc., t. i. p. 22.

confined to Acadia, or Nova Scotia, as it had pleased King James to denominate that country, situated between 42 and 44 deg.*

This grant had been farther limited by the express clause, "if these lands were uninhabited or possessed by infidels." The author of the *British Dominions in America* mentions, it is true, that King James rewarded the Earl of Stirling with Long Island, but observes at the same time, that it happened at a period when the Netherlanders had already settled that colony, and that the colonists transported by the said Earl to Long Island, were driven away to its eastern parts by the Hollanders.

But, can it be, that the Scots, as England's chancellor pretended, had made an earlier discovery of that country, and took possession of it before the Netherlanders? Nothing at first sight is more improbable. The ghost of the Scottish nation, when James ascended the throne of England, did not contemplate discoveries of lands, or commercial calculations. Even the attention of the prince was more fixed on China and Japan, to which he presumed to discover a passage by the North.† Neither could I discover any evidence that any naval expedition was undertaken by the Scots towards America. Before the obstinate support of the episcopal church-discipline, with the emigrations from Scotland as well as from England, seemed to render it necessary, and at that period the Hollanders a long time had been established in New-Netherlands.

Robertson, the accurate historian of America, acknowledges in so many words, that the Hollanders, having discovered the island of Manhattan, and the river Connecticut, with the districts along its shores, acquired all the rights to these which can be given by the first possession.‡

And Burke, who wrote a history of the English colonies in America, does admit, that the land-possession of the Hollanders and Swedes were anterior to those of New-England.§

To say, that they had only been permitted, even as foreigners, who settle in England and elsewhere, without acquiring by it in behalf of their Fatherland, the right of sovereignty, is ludicrous indeed; as would it be permitted to any foreigner in any realm to build a city, to construct fortresses, and secure them by an armed force!

The oldest natives of New-Netherlands, who did yet remember the arrival of the ship, the Half-Moon, in the year 1609, often

* Although I have not found the grant, not even in Rymer, it is mentioned in the work entitled, *Conduite des Français par rapport à la Nouvelle Ecosse*, p. 29; and by Sprengel, i. t. p. 40.

† P. 104.

‡ Rymer, *Acta Publ.*, t. vii. p. 115. 116.

§ *History of America*, t. v. p. 180.

¶ *Hist. des Colonies Européennes dans l'Amérique*, t. ii. p. 207

declared, as observed before, that, before the arrival of the Netherlanders, they were utterly ignorant of the existence of any other nation, besides their own, and that they took the ship for a huge fish or sea-monster, while Hudson and his crew were convinced, that never before them any Christian nation landed on this shore.

There is no greater weight in what the author of the *British Dominions in America** relates, that the Hollanders purchased their right to New-Netherlands in 1608, of Captain Hudson, which purchase, as made without the consent of the king, was always considered as null and void ;—that the Puritans, who settled afterwards the colony of New-Plymouth, first intended to settle along the bay of New-Haven and on Long Island, but had been steered to the north by the skipper, who, being a Hollander, and bought by his countrymen, had compelled them to abandon their plan ; that the Hollanders, having made a beginning of settling that country, had been expelled from there by the Knight Argal, then governor of Virginia, when they addressed themselves to King James I., and obtained liberty, to construct some cottages along the shore, to assist their vessels, sailing to the Brazils, with water and victuals ; of which pretext they had made use, to settle there gradually with so much success, that they built several cities and forts, cultivated plantations, and within a short period increased to a large and populous colony. Thus far the anonymous English author. Let us now see, what truth there is in his narrative.

Hudson sold his right to the Hollanders, and the king never sanctioned this purchase ! But where is there a shadow of proof of such a negotiation ? Hudson was despatched with a ship of the Netherland East India Company. He was unquestionably the first who discovered the North river with its adjacent coasts, but not the first who took possession of them. This was performed by other Netherlanders at a later period, probably first in the year 1674, as we observed before.

That the Puritans, in their passage to North America, should have been imposed upon by a Holland skipper, is founded upon a tale without any proof. But even if such could be produced, this certainly would not invalidate the occupancy of the Netherlanders, which had taken place six years before.

Lastly, as it regards the expulsion of the Netherlanders from North America by the knight Samuel Argal, Governor of Virginia, it is possible that this man in his zeal for extending the English colonies, when he on his own authority undertook to drive the French from Canada, permitted himself some depredations upon the Netherland plantations upon the Hudson river,

* *Hist. des Colonies Européennes dans l'Amérique*, t. ii. p. 100.

but this proves nothing against the right of the Netherlanders to an earlier possession, as they, as well as the French, being at peace with the English, had not deserved such violence. Neither was the conduct of Governor Argal approved, as he was the next year recalled to England, and removed from his office.*

Or shall it be said that the right of possession by the Netherlanders is of no value, because the country of which they took possession was inhabited by barbarous nations? the same would be of force against the English. Besides that, as the Directors of the West India Company declared in their memorial of 29th September, 1654, (to be found in the *Verbael of Beverningk*, page 604,) her ministers as soon as the grant was obtained, exerted themselves to purchase from the natives several islands and districts; so that they then, by way of purchase, became the legal proprietors of various spots along the North river, as Pavonia, Hoboken, Staten and Nut Islands, the Island of Manhattan, a large tract of land named Zwonendaal, not far from Cape Henlopen, on the South river, and the whole territory of Connecticut.

We may thus conclude with safety that the English cannot make out any pretence of a right of possession to the countries in North America which were occupied by the Netherland West India Company, but rather that these countries ought to be regarded as a Netherland colony, with the same right as Virginia was entitled to the name of an English colony; and that, indeed, nothing else than jealousy with regard to commerce on the part of the English, and weakness and want of power of the Netherlanders, were the causes of the loss of a colony, which unquestionably would have become a rich source of wealth to our fatherland, and fully compensated the loss of the Brazils.

Conclusion.

Thus have I fulfilled the task which I took upon me, persuaded that it contains many defects, notwithstanding my exertions. If I could have obtained the treatise or the remonstrance of the community of New-Netherlands, mentioned by Van der Donck; or could I have obtained access to the ancient records (*Notelen*) of the West India Company Department of Amsterdam, I might probably with greater accuracy have delineated as well the voyages to, as the increasing population, civilization; and further history of New-Netherlands, but in this

* *British Empire in America*, p. 184.

I was disappointed. Perhaps some particulars relative to that part of the colony which was transferred to the city of Amsterdam, might be discovered in the documents preserved among the state papers of Amsterdam, in the *Muniment Register*, B, folio 26, and D, folios 89 and 148; but I do not believe that these would be very interesting with regard to the events in New-Netherlands.

The English authors, perhaps, to whom Robertson refers in the fifth volume of his *History of America*, may throw some light upon my narrative. But my endeavours to consult them having proved fruitless, I was compelled to acquiesce in what I possessed, fostering the hope that my labour may be improved by a more expert hand.*

Postscript.

After I had written, in the years 1813 and 1815, this sketch of the origin and history of New-Netherlands, I had the honour of receiving in the year 1817, my election as an honorary member of the Historical Society of New-York, while at the same time was transmitted, as a present, a copy of the two published volumes of their transactions, under the title of *Collections of the New-York Historical Society*, printed at New-York, 1811 and 1814.

I discovered in this Collection several documents which spread light over the great events on which my attention had been fixed, and therefore made use of them either to illustrate or extend my narrative, referring to them in the notes.

And whereas, I respectfully thank the Historical Society of New-York for the honour bestowed upon me, so I am confident that the Society, in consequence of its general invitation, will accept my remarks, however defective otherwise, as well-intentioned endeavours for the discovery of truth and illustration of history; albeit I have been unable to answer the several questions whose investigation the Society has proposed, and which came first to my notice after I had written this memoir.

* Fruitless, too, was my inquiry of one of the members of the family of Van Rensselaer, resident here, whose ancestors settled a respectable colony in New-Netherlands, named Rensselaerwyck, to discover if any documents to illustrate the history were yet preserved; as I was informed that all those a few years past had been delivered to Mr. R. S. Van Rensselaer, on his return to America, where that gentleman, as I am informed, is yet residing.

CORRECTIONS.

In translating the foregoing work, Mr. Van der Kemp laboured under the disadvantage of an imperfect knowledge of our language; and on this account, his sentences and phraseology are often obscure, following the idiom of his own vernacular tongue rather than the English. Frequent alterations were thus rendered absolutely necessary, in order to make the sense of the author intelligible; and the Editor, in performing this duty, has been compelled to resort constantly to the original work. In consequence of these alterations, and the general obscurity of the Translator's handwriting, a critical eye may discover occasional errors of the press.

On page 109, there is an omission of a note by the Translator, which in the original work is as follows:—*Blijkens Papieren ten Raadhuize van Amsterdam. ALRICHS was in December, 1656, uit Texel vertrokken, en na geleden Schipbreuk op 't Lange-Eiland in April, 1647, met 128 Zielen in 't fort Casimir aangekomen.* Correcting the misprint, 1647, it may be translated as follows:—*See Documents in the City Hall, at Amsterdam. ALRICHS left the Texel in December, 1656, and after the above-mentioned shipwreck on Long Island, in April, 1657, with 128 souls, arrived at Fort Casimir, (on the Delaware.)* This note should have been inserted in the place of the third note, on page 109; the third note should take place of the second; and the reference to the second be placed at the end of the ninth line on that page, after the word '*forts.*' The reference to *Holland Merc.* on the same page should be p. 113, instead of p. 43.

On page 120, in the note, the reference should be to the "British Empire in America." On page 104, near the middle, instead of *uncourteously*, read *very courteously*. This error was corrected in the greater part of the edition.—F.D.

V.

DESCRIPTION
OF THE
NEW NETHERLANDS,

BY
ADRIAEN VAN der DONCK, J. U. D.

Translated from the original Dutch,

BY
HON. JEREMIAH JOHNSON,
Of Brooklyn, N. Y.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE following work is the production of a Dutch scholar who in early times joined a colony of his countrymen on the banks of the Hudson. As his little volume has never appeared until now in an English dress, it has been less known and appreciated, probably, by succeeding writers, than its merits deserve. It is, indeed, rather a description of the natural features of the country, for the purpose of commending it to the attention of a Netherland public with a view to promote emigration, than an account of its civil condition, or of what had previously transpired in relation to its affairs. Such as it is, however, it will not be found destitute of interest either to the historical student, or to those descendants of the ancient burghers, who, having lost their ancestral tongue, are only able to converse with their forefathers through the medium of an interpreter.

The author, ADRIAEN VAN der DONCK, enjoys the distinction of having been the first lawyer in the Dutch colony. He was educated at the University of Leyden, and, after pursuing a course of legal study, received the usual degree of *Juris utriusque Doctor*, or as the title-page of his book has it, *Beyder Rechten Doctoer*—Doctor of both laws, that is, the civil and canon. He was subsequently admitted to the practice of an advocate in the supreme court of Holland. His standing and reputation in the Fatherland may be inferred from his having been appointed by the patroon of Rensselaerwyck, who must have known something of his character, to the important office of Sheriff of that colony.

Van der Donck arrived here in a bark of the patroon Killian Van Rensselaer, in the autumn of 1642, and immediately entered upon the discharge of the duties of his office. The colony of Rensselaerwyck, which embraced an extensive territory on either side of the Hudson, was yet in its infancy. Van Rensselaer himself had been only five years in the country; and although a trading-house was established in the same quarter as early as 1614, yet the first successful efforts to plant a colony were not made until 1630, when the patroon through an agent obtained his first title from the Indians, and despatched a body of colonists from Holland under a liberal charter of privileges from the West India Company. He followed them himself in 1637. The seat of the

colony was at Fort Orange, where Albany is now situated, and there our author at first resided.*

A few years after, Van der Donck purchased an estate on the Hudson near the upper extremity of Manhattan Island, about sixteen miles from this city, afterwards known as Yonkers. One of his grants of land at that place was made to him in 1648, under the name of *Joncker* (pronounced *Yonker*) Van der Donck, and it appears that he was familiarly called *the Yonker*, a common appellation for a gentleman among the Dutch farmers. His land was spoken of, as we find in the Colonial Records, as *the Yonker's land*, and there can be little doubt that the name of the present town of Yonkers was in this way derived from him.† Van der Donck made several purchases from the Indians in that neighborhood, and altogether acquired an extensive tract of land, bounded on the south by the creek *Paprimenin*, to which the Dutch name of *Spyten-duyvel* was afterwards given. On the north was the *Zaeg Kil*, or Saw-Mill creek, at the mouth of which is the present village of Yonkers, or Phillipsburg, where our author erected mills and laid out a plantation. The land and river of Bronck, or *Bronx*, another Dutch planter, bounded the estate on the east. Nearly twenty years after, in 1666, when the New-Netherlands had passed into the hands of the English, this estate was re-granted, or confirmed, to the widow of Van der Donck, who had married a second husband of the name of Oneale.

A controversy arose at that period between the government of the colony and several of the colonists, among whom was our author, which led to a remonstrance, addressed to the States General, against the powers exercised by the West India Company, in which the administrations of Kieft and Stuyvesant were violently assailed. This document, signed by Van der Donck and a few others, was printed in Holland, in 1650, and formed a small quarto volume of about fifty pages, entitled, *Vertoogh van Nieuw Nederlandt, weghens de Ghelegenheydt, Vruchtbaerheydt, en soberen Staet desselfs. In s'Graven Hage, 1650.* (An Exposition of the New Netherlands, in respect to the situation, fertility, and wretched condition of the country. At the Hague, 1650.)‡

* For a clear and comprehensive sketch of the colony and manor of Rensselaerwyck, see the Discourse of D. D. Barnard, on the life and services of the late patroon, STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER.

† See a Memoir read before this Society, in 1816, by the late Judge Egbert Benson, second edition, page 56. Mr. Moulton, author of a volume relating to the early history of New-York, has furnished the editor with several extracts from the Colonial Records in reference to this matter.

‡ This is the volume referred to by Lambrechtsen, p. 83, which he regrets not having been able to procure. It is also mentioned by Van der Donck in the following work. A copy of it has been recently imported from Holland by H. C. Murphy, Esq., of Brooklyn, which the Editor has had an opportunity of examining. '*Vertoogh*' is sometimes translated *remonstrance*.

Whatever gave rise to this attempt to shake the authority of the West India Company, on the part of Van der Donck and his associates, it proved entirely fruitless in its results, and only served to re-act unfavorably upon the disaffected parties. In consequence of it, he was permitted only a limited access to the records of the colony for the composition of the present work; and on his application to the Directors of the West India Company for leave to pursue the practice of his profession, he was only allowed to give advice, being forbidden to plead, on the novel ground that, "as there was no other lawyer in the colony, there would be no one to oppose him." This was in 1653.*

It does not appear with certainty in what year the first edition of the present work was published; the second, from which the following translation is made, was issued from the press in 1656, under the auspices of Evert Nieuwenhof, a bookseller at Amsterdam. As the privilege, or copyright, bears date May 14th, 1653, it is highly probable that the first edition appeared about that time.

A translation of the work was prepared some years ago by the late Rev. John Bassett, D.D., formerly of Albany, who issued printed proposals to publish it by subscription; but sufficient encouragement not being afforded to induce him to give it to the press, Dr. Bassett offered to dispose of his manuscript to this Society for publication. The subject was referred to a committee, who reported, at the August meeting in 1820, that the expense of printing an edition of one thousand copies would be from *eight hundred to a thousand dollars*.† Nothing further appears to have been done on the subject, although a volume of Collections was published by the Society the ensuing year.

The present translation is from the pen of the Hon. Jeremiah Johnson, late Mayor of Brooklyn, a gentleman who combines with Dutch descent a familiar acquaintance with the language of his colonial ancestors. The translation was made by him several years ago, and the Editor having applied for permission to insert it in the present volume, the request was at once cheerfully acceded to, and a copy subsequently furnished, from which the publication is now made.

EDITOR.

* The answer to this application of Van der Donck is among the Albany Records.

† Minutes of the Society. The memoir on the Mohawk Indians by Rev. J. Megapolensis, jr., was included in the estimate; but that essay is so brief as to occupy only eight or nine pages of Hazard's State Papers, published in 1792.

A
DESCRIPTION
OF THE
NEW NETHERLANDS,
(AS THE SAME ARE AT THE PRESENT TIME;)

COMPREHENDING
THE FRUITFULNESS AND NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF THE COUNTRY,
AND THE DESIRABLE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH IT PRE-
SENTS, WITHIN ITSELF, AND FROM ABROAD, FOR
THE SUBSISTENCE OF MAN; WHICH ARE
NOT SURPASSED ELSEWHERE.

TOGETHER WITH REMARKS ON THE CHARACTER AND PECULIAR
CUSTOMS OF THE SAVAGES, OR NATIVES OF THE LAND;

ALSO,
A PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION OF THE WONDERFUL NATURE
AND HABITS OF THE BEAVER.

WITH
A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A NETHERLAND PATRIOT
AND A NEW NETHERLANDER, ON THE
ADVANTAGES OF THE COUNTRY.

WRITTEN BY
ADRIAEN VAN der DONCK,
Doctor of both Laws, at present in the New Netherlands.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
THE REGULATIONS OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE COUNTRY, BY THE
COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF AMSTERDAM, &c.

THE SECOND EDITION,
With a Map of the Country.
AT AMSTERDAM, published by Evert Nieuwenhof, Bookseller.
ANNO DOMINI, 1656.

NOTE.

FOLLOWING the title page in the original work there is, in the first place, an extract from the Privilege or Copyright, granted to the Author by the States-General of the United Netherlands for the term of fifteen years, on condition that he obtain a like authority from the Province or Provinces in which the book shall be printed and sold: Dated at the Hague, May 24th, 1653.

Next succeeds a similar license from the States of Holland and West Friesland, in which the book was published: Dated at the Hague, July 21st, 1653.

Lastly, an extract from the Minutes of the Directors of the West India Company, at the Chamber of Amsterdam, February 25th, 1655, setting forth the request of Evert Nieuwenhof, bookseller, for the approbation of the Company in reference to the same work, which was accordingly granted. Certified in the absence of the Advocate, by E. Van Severter, 1655.

EDITOR.

DEDICATION.

To the Illustrious, Most Wise, and Prudent Lords, the Honourable Ruling Burgomasters of the far-famed commercial City of Amsterdam,

JOHN HUYDEKOOPER, Knight, Lord of Maerseveen and Neerdyck, &c.,

CORNELIUS DE GRAEF, Free Lord of South-Poelsbrook,

JOHN vande POL HERMANZ,

HENDRICK DIRCKSZ SPIEGEL:—

MY LORDS,

The glory and renown of this good city of Amsterdam are not only spread throughout the world by reason of the extensive commerce of which it is the seat, but also, in an especial manner, from the fact that a great number of far distant lands have been sought, discovered, and visited by sea from its port. Amongst those by whom such discoveries have been made in this last century, not the least in consideration are the two Companies of the East and West Indies, under whose direction voyages have been performed; and although the West India Company seems to be now in a declining condition, yet that part of North America called New-Netherlands, (of which this book treats,) possesses so great an intrinsic value, that it deserves to be held in high estimation, as well as on account of the extensive trade with it, which is constantly on the increase. For which cause, and especially in view of the good and noble disposition manifested by your Honours, more and more every day, for the support and restoration of the, alas! almost ruined West India Company, I have ventured to dedicate to you, with becoming reverence, this little and inconsiderable treatise, containing a description of that part of the world; trusting that it will not be taken ill of me for so doing, inasmuch as it is a sincere expression of respect from one who is, and ever will be,

My Lords,

Your Lordships' very humble, faithful,

And obedient citizen and servant,

E. NIEUWENHOF.

LIKEWISE TO

Their High Mightinesses, the Lords Proprietors of the West-India Company, at the Council Chambers of Amsterdam.

MY LORDS,—As soon as this History came to hand, I deemed it necessary and proper to print and publish the same, thereby to make known the beauties and advantages of the flourishing Colony of New-Netherlands, which, under your wise and careful direction, is advancing in prosperity, all of which should be publicly known, particularly in Amsterdam. And when your Honours, with great care and vigilance, are providing to increase the power of the Colony by settlers therein, (which in all ages has been considered the firmest bond to secure conquered countries, as well as newly discovered lands,) it therefore appeared proper to make it known to my countrymen, particularly to many of my brave and faithful fellow-citizens, to the end that they may be invited by the pure air and fruitfulness of the New-Netherlands to go thither, where (if they be not fastidious, lazy plodders) they may, with industry and economy, acquire property and gain wealth, and enjoy the fruits of the earth and of their industry, in as healthy a climate as can be found on the surface of the globe.

And inasmuch as your Honourable Company provide for the necessary intercourse with the Colony, supplying the inhabitants and settlers with the articles which are required, and not yet produced therein, and have provided for the establishment of the true Christian religion, and for extending light from the Word of God in the country to those who sit in darkness—all of which is worthy and commendable: Therefore I trust that this notice may not be unacceptable in regard to the work which is now preparing for the press, as the same will be published by a sincere well-wisher of the Company, and of the Chamber over which your Honours do most wisely and carefully preside. With which I remain,

Most honoured Lords, &c.

Your obedient and obligated servant,

EVERT NIEUWENHOF.

TO THE READER.

HONOURED READER,—As I have remarked the great zeal shown by our High and Venerable Lords Burgomasters of this City, together with the Most Worshipful Directors of the West India Company, in respect to the affairs of the New-Netherlands, which their Worships, as Founders and Patroons, for the benefit of the public, have taken much to heart; I also have become inflamed with a like zeal, to republish the Description of those countries, and for the better understanding thereof, have added a small map of the same. Besides the accurate description of the nature and qualities of the soil, it also contains the excellent regulations of their Worships, tending to the special advantage of those who are disposed to emigrate thither; to whom they have granted as much land as each shall be able to improve for pasture or cultivation, under the same restrictions as are imposed on landholders at home. The understanding reader will learn from the articles comprised in these regulations, the sincere desire of their Worships to make a liberal provision for those countries; and thus will be exhibited new proofs of their wisdom.

May you receive my labours with favour. Farewell.

E. NIEUWENHOF.

[The dedication to the Burgomasters, and the address to the Reader, are translated by the Editor, not being included in the translation of Mr. Johnson.]

ON THE PATRONS AND THE HISTORY OF
NEW-NETHERLANDS.

Still Amstel's faithful Burgher-Lords do live,
Who East and West extend their faithful care;
To lands and men good laws they wisely give,
That like the beasts ran wild in open air.
With aged care Holland's gardens still they save—
And in New-Netherlands their men will ne'er be slaves.

Why mourn about Brazil, full of base Portuguese ?
When Van der Donck shows so far much better fare ;
Where wheat fills golden ears, and grapes abound in trees ;
Where fruit and kine are good with little care ;
Men may mourn a loss, when vain would be their voice,
But when their loss brings gain, they also may rejoice.

Then, reader, if you will, go freely there to live,
We name it NETHERLAND, though it excels it far ;
If you dislike the voyage, pray due attention give,
To VAN DER DONCK, his book, which, as a leading star,
Directs toward the land where many people are,
Where lowland Love and Laws all may freely share.

EVERT NIEUWENHOF.

DESCRIPTION, &c.

Where New-Netherlands is situated.

This country is situated in the New American World, beginning north of the Equinoctial Line, 38 deg. and 53 min., extending north-easterly along the sea-coast, to the 42d deg., and is named *New-Netherlands*, by the Netherlands, for reasons to be related hereafter; lying in the latitude of Sardinia and Corsica, in the Mediterranean Sea, and of Spain and France along the Ocean; the South River* corresponding exactly with the Flemish Islands, with the rivers of Lisbon, with the south point of the Island of Sardinia, and of the *Punctum Meridionale*† of the Orientals, reckoning an easterly course from the Canary Islands by west, upon the 316th degree, or counting due west 44 degrees from the *Punctum Meridionale*, whereon we hold the Canary Islands, being 660 miles, corresponding with Cape Mesuratta on the Barbary coast in Africa, in the kingdom of Tripoli, and with Cape Spartivento, being the uttermost corner of Italy against the Mediterranean Sea. New-Netherlands is a fine, acceptable, healthy, extensive and agreeable country, wherein all people can more easily gain a competent support, than in the Netherlands, or in any other quarter of the globe, which is known to me or which I have visited.

When, and by whom, New-Netherlands was first discovered.

This country was first found and discovered in the year of our Lord 1609; when, at the cost of the incorporated East In-

* The river Delaware.

† The *Punctum Meridionale* of the orientals, is probably the meridian assumed by Ptolemy, which passed through the farthest of the Canary Islands. The Dutch geographers and mariners pitched upon the Peak of Teneriffe for their meridian. See *Chambers*. The Arabian geographers chose to fix their meridian upon the utmost shore of the Western ocean, which was then the most westerly part of the known world, and may be the Oriental Meridian referred to, and adopted by Ptolemy, who flourished 150 years before Christ, and reduced Geography to a regular system. After the fall of the Roman empire, Europe was enveloped in darkness, when the arts and sciences were preserved by the Arabians and the orientals of Asia.—TRANS.

dia Company, a ship named the Half-Moon was fitted out to discover a westerly passage to the kingdom of China. This ship was commanded by Hendrick Hudson, as captain and supercargo, who was an Englishman by birth, and had resided many years in Holland, during which he had been in the employment of the East India Company. This ship sailed from the Canary Islands, steering a course north by west; and after sailing twenty days with good speed, land was discovered, which, by their calculation, lay 320 degrees by west. On approaching the land, and observing the coast and shore convenient, they landed, and examined the country as well as they could at the time, and as opportunity offered; from which they were well satisfied that no Christian people had ever been there before, and that they were the first who by Providence had been guided to the discovery of the country.

Why this country is called New Netherlands.

We have before related, that the Netherlanders, in the year 1609, had first discovered this country, of which they took possession as their own in right of their discovery, and finding the country fruitful and advantageously situated, possessing good and safe havens, rivers, fisheries, and many other worthy appurtenances corresponding with the Netherlands, or in truth excelling the same; for this good reason it was named New Netherlands, being as much as to say, another or a new-found Netherlands. Still the name depended most upon the first discovery, and upon the corresponding temperatures of the climates of the two countries, which to strangers is not so observable. We notice also that the French in the same quarter of the new world, have named their territory Canada or Nova Francia, only because they were the first Europeans who possessed the lands in those parts, for the temperature of the climate is so cold and wintry, that the snow commonly lies on the earth four or five months in succession and from four to five feet deep, which renders it costly to keep domestic animals there; and although this country lies no farther than fifty degrees north, still the air in winter is so fine, clear and sharp there, that when the snow once falls, which it commonly does about the first of December, it does not thaw away except by the power of the sun in April. If a shower of rain happens to fall in winter, (which is seldom,) then it forms a hard crust on the surface of the snow, that renders the travelling difficult for man and beast. The air there is clear and dry, and the snow seldom melts or thaws away suddenly.

The Swedes also have a possession on the south (Delaware)

river, which they name New-Sweden. The climate of this place by no means corresponds with that of Sweden, as it lies in latitude 39 degrees north. But, although they have formed a settlement there, still their title is disputed, for they can show no legal right or claim to their possessions.

The country having been first found or discovered by the Netherlanders, and keeping in view the discovery of the same, it is named the New-Netherlands. That this country was first found or discovered by the Netherlanders, is evident and clear from the fact, that the Indians or natives of the land, many of whom are still living, and with whom I have conversed, declare freely, that before the arrival of the Lowland ship, the Half-Moon, in the year 1609, they (the natives) did not know that there were any other people in the world than those who were like themselves, much less any people who differed so much in appearance from them as we did. Their men on the breasts and about the mouth were bare, and their women like ours, hairy; going unclad and almost naked, particularly in summer, while we are always clothed and covered. When some of them first saw our ship approaching at a distance, they did not know what to think about her, but stood in deep and solemn amazement, wondering whether it were a ghost or apparition, coming down from heaven, or from hell. Others of them supposed her to be a strange fish or sea monster. When they discovered men on board, they supposed them to be more like devils than human beings. Thus they differed about the ship and men. A strange report was also spread about the country concerning our ship and visit, which created great astonishment and surprise amongst the Indians. These things we have frequently heard them declare, which we hold as certain proof that the Netherlanders were the first finders or discoverers and possessors of the New-Netherlands. There are Indians in the country, who remember a hundred years, and if there had been any other people here before us, they would have known something of them, and if they had not seen them themselves, they would have heard an account of them from others. There are persons who believe that the Spaniards have been here many years ago, when they found the climate too cold to their liking, and again left the country; and that the maize or Turkish corn, and beans found among the Indians, were left with them by the Spaniards. This opinion or belief is improbable, as we can discover nothing of the kind from the Indians. They say that their corn and beans were received from the southern Indians, who received their seed from a people who resided still farther south, which may well be true, as the Castilians have long since resided in Florida. The maize may have been among the Indians in the warm climate long ago; however, our Indians say that they did eat roots

and the bark of trees instead of bread, before the introduction of Indian corn or maize.

Of the limits of the New-Netherlands, and how far the same extend.

New-Netherlands is bounded by the ocean or great sea, which separates Europe from America, by New-England and the Fresh (Connecticut) river, in part by the river of Canada, (the St. Lawrence,) and by Virginia. Some persons who are not well informed, name all North-America *Virginia*, because Virginia from her tobacco trade is well known. These circumstances, therefore, will be observed as we progress, as admonitions to the readers. The coast of New-Netherlands extends and stretches mostly north-east and south-west. The sea-shore is mostly formed of pure sand, having a dry beach. On the south side, the country is bounded by Virginia. Those boundaries are not yet well defined, but in the progress of the settlement of the country, the same will be determined without difficulty. On the north-east the New-Netherlands abut upon New-England, where there are differences on the subject of boundaries which we wish were well settled. On the north, the river of Canada stretches a considerable distance, but to the north-west it is still undefined and unknown. Many of our Netherlanders have been far into the country, more than seventy or eighty miles from the river and sea-shore. We also frequently trade with the Indians, who come more than ten and twenty days' journey from the interior, and who have been farther off to catch beavers, and they know of no limits to the country, and when spoken to on the subject, they deem such enquiries to be strange and singular. Therefore we may safely say, that we know not how deep, or how far we extend inland. There are however many signs, which indicate a great extent of country, such as the land winds, which domineer much, with severe cold, the multitudes of beavers, and land animals which are taken, and the great numbers of water-fowl, which fly to and fro, across the country in the spring and fall-seasons. From these circumstances we judge that the land extends several hundred miles into the interior; therefore the extent and greatness of this province are still unknown.

Of the forelands and sea-havens.

The coast of New-Netherlands extends south-west and north-east, as before mentioned, and is mostly clean and sandy, drying naturally; and although the bare, bleak and open sea breaks

on the beach, still there is good anchorage in almost every place, because of the clean, sandy bottom. There seldom are severe gales from the sea, except from the south-east, with the spring tides. When the winds blow from the north-west, which dominate the strongest, then there is an upper or windward shore, with smooth water and little danger. For those reasons, the coast is as convenient to approach at all seasons, as could be desired. The highlands, which are naturally dry, may be seen far at sea, and give timely warning.

The forelands are generally double, and in some places broken into islands, (affording convenient situations for the keeping of stock,) which would lead seamen to suppose, on approaching the shore, that the same were the main land, when the same are islands and forelands, within which lie large meadows, bays, and creeks, affording convenient navigable passages, and communications between places.

It has pleased God to protect against the raging sea those parts of the coast which have no double foreland, with natural barriers of firm, strong, and secure stone foundations, that preserve the coast from the inundations of the mighty ocean, (which are ever to be feared,) where the coast, if not thus protected, might be lessened and destroyed; particularly the nearest sea lands, against which the sea acts with most violence. Nature has secured those positions with firm, high, and accommodated rocky heads and cliffs, which are as perfect formations, as the arts and hands of man, with great expense, could make the same.

There are many and different sea havens in the New-Netherlands, a particular description of which would form a work larger than we design this to be; we will therefore briefly notice this subject, and leave the same for the consideration of mariners and seamen. Beginning at the south and terminating at Long Island, first comes Godyn's bay, or the South (Delaware) bay, which was the first discovered. This bay lies in 39 degrees north latitude, being six (Dutch) miles wide and nine miles long, and having several banks or shoals, but still possessing many advantages; convenient and safe anchorages for ships, with roomy and safe harbours. Here also is a good whale fishery. Whales are numerous in the winter on the coast, and in the bay, where they frequently ground on the shoals and bars; but they are not as fat as the Greenland whales. If, however, the fishery was well-managed, it would be profitable. After ascending the bay nine miles, it is terminated in a river, which we name the South river, to which we will again refer hereafter, and pass on to the bay, wherein the East and North rivers terminate, and wherein Staten Island lies; because the same is most frequented, and

the country is most populous, and because the greatest negotiations in trade are carried on there ; and also because it is situated in the centre of the New-Netherlands. Hence it is named *quasi per excellentiam*, "The Bay." But before we speak more at large of this place, we will attend to the places, and their advantages, which lie between this bay and the South bay.

Between those two bays, the coast, almost the whole distance, has double forelands, with many islands, which in some places lie two or three deep. Those forelands as well as the islands, are well situated for seaboard towns, and all kind of fisheries, and also for the cultivation of grain, vineyards, and gardening, and the keeping of stock, for which purposes the land is tolerably good. Those lands are now mostly overgrown with different kinds of trees and grape-vines ; having many plums, hazel-nuts and strawberries, and much grass. The waters abound with oysters, having many convenient banks and beds where they may be taken.

Besides the many islands which lie between the aforesaid bays, many of which are highland, there are also several fine bays and inland waters, which form good sea harbours for those who are acquainted with the inlets and entrances to the same, which at present are not much used ; particularly the Bear-gat, Great and Little Egg Harbours, Barnegat, &c., wherein the anchorages are safe and secure. But as New-Netherlands is not yet well peopled, and as there are but few Christians settled at those places, these harbours are seldom used, unless the winds and weather render it necessary for safety.

The before-mentioned bay, wherein Staten Island lies, is the most famous, because the East and North rivers empty therein, which are two fine rivers, and will be further noticed hereafter. Besides those, there are several kills, inlets, and creeks, some of which resemble small rivers, as the Raritan, Kill van Col, Neuversinck, &c. Moreover, the said bay affords a safe and convenient haven from all winds, wherein a thousand ships may ride in safety inland. The entrance into the bay is reasonably wide or roomy, without much danger, and easily found by those who have entered the same, or are well instructed. We can also easily, if the wind and tide suit, in one tide sail and proceed from the sea to New-Amsterdam, (which lies five miles from the open sea,) with the largest ships fully laden ; and in like manner proceed from New-Amsterdam to sea. But the outward bound vessels usually stop at the watering-place under Staten Island, to lay in a sufficient supply of wood and water, which are easily obtained at that place. We also frequently stop far in the bay behind Sand Point (Sandy Hook)

in waiting for the last passengers and letters, and to avail ourselves of the wind and tide.

Along the seacoast of Long Island, there are also several safe, commodious inlets for small vessels, which are not much frequented by us. There also are many spacious inland bays, from which, by the inlets, (at full tide,) the sea is easy of access; otherwise those are too shallow. The same also are not much frequented by us. With population several of the places would become important, which now, for brevity's sake, we pass over.

Between Long Island and the main land, there are throughout many safe and convenient places for large and small vessels; which may be occupied, if necessary. For in connection with the whole river which is held by many to be a bay, there are in the main land and in the island opposite to the same, many safe bays, harbours, and creeks, which are but little known to us, and which the English, by their devices have appropriated. Although this subject is spoken of in the remonstrances of the New-Netherlands, we will pass over it without waking the *sleepers*, and attend briefly to the most important rivers, waters, and creeks.

Of the South River (Delaware River).

The right which the Netherlanders have to the South River, and how they acquired their right, has been sufficiently shown already, which it is unnecessary to recapitulate at length again. This is the first place of which the men of the Half Moon took possession, before any Christian had been there. There we have built our forts, commenced agriculture, and have driven trade many years in succession, without the intervention or molestation of any persons; until by wrong measures (which we design to notice) a small band of Holland-Swedes set themselves down along the river. We acknowledge freely that we are unable fully to describe the value and the advantages which this river possesses, for in addition to the negotiation and trade, which are great, and not to be despised, there are fourteen navigable rivers, creeks, and streams which fall into this river. Some of the same are large and boatable a great distance, and may well be named rivers, as the ordinary tides flow several miles up the same, where the waters meet and are fresh, and still remain wide and tolerably deep. There are also many streams presenting rich and extensive valleys, which afford good situations for villages and towns. The river itself is roomy, wide, clean, clear and deep, not foul or stony, with good settings and anchorage.

The tides are strong and flow up near to the falls. The land is fine and level on both sides, not too high, but above the floods and freshets, except some reed-land and marshes. Above the falls the river divides into two large boatable streams, which run far inland, to places unknown to us. There are several fine islands in this river, with many other delightful advantages and conditions, which are estimated by those who have examined the river, and who have seen much of the world, not to be surpassed by any other river which is known. Equalling in many respects the celebrated river of the Amazons, although not in greatness, yet in advantages with which this river and the neighbouring land is favoured, we would regret to lose such a jewel by the devices and hands of a few strangers.*

Of the North River.

We have before noticed the name of this river, with the population and advantages of the country; and, inasmuch as a particular and ample account of the same is preparing for publication, we will at once say, that this river is the most famous, and the country the most populous of any in the New-Netherlands. There are also several colonies settled, besides the city of New-Amsterdam, on the island of Manhattan, where the most of the trade of this river centres. The river carries flood tides forty miles up the same.† Several fine creeks empty into this river, such as the Great and Small Esopus kills, Kats kill, Sleepy Haven kill, Colondonck's kill or Saw kill, Wap-pincke's kill, &c. We can also pass from the North river behind Manhattan island by the East river, without approaching New-Amsterdam. This river still remains altogether in the possession and jurisdiction of the Netherlands, without being invaded; but if the population did not increase and advance, there would be great danger of its long continuation. This river is rich in fishes: sturgeon, dunns, bass, sheep-heads, &c. I cannot refrain, although somewhat out of place, to relate a very singular occurrence, which happened in the month of March, 1647, at the time of a great freshet caused by the fresh water flowing down from above, by which the water of the river became nearly fresh to the bay, when at ordinary seasons the salt water flows up from twenty to twenty-four miles from the sea. At this season, two whales, of common size, swam up the river

* Van der Donck alludes to the Swedes. They were subdued by Governor Stuyvesant.—TRANS.

† A Dutch mile is about three English miles.

forty miles, from which place one of them returned and stranded about twelve miles from the sea, near which place four others also stranded the same year. The other run farther up the river and grounded near the great Chahoos falls, about forty-three miles from the sea. This fish was tolerably fat, for although the citizens of Rensselaerwyck broiled out a great quantity of train oil, still the whole river (the current being still rapid) was oily for three weeks, and covered with grease. As the fish lay rotting, the air was infected with its stench to such a degree that the smell was offensive and perceptible for two miles to leeward. For what purpose those whales ascended the river so far, it being at the time full forty miles from all salt or brackish water, it is difficult to say, unless their great desire for fish, which were plenty at this season, led them onward.

Forty-four miles from the sea this North river is divided. One part by four sprouts ascends to the great falls of the Maquas kill, which is named the Chahoos, of which we will treat presently. The other part which retains the name of the North river, is navigable for boats several miles farther, and, according to the information of the Indians, rises in a great lake, from which the river of Canada also proceeds. This should be the lake of the *Iracoyen* (lake Ontario), which is as great as the Mediterranean sea, being about forty miles wide, when in the middle of the sea, no eye can see land or see over it. The lake also has extensive reed and brocklands of great breadth, wherein great multitudes of water-fowl breed in summer. When the Indians intend to cross this lake, they know certain islands which lie therein, and proceed from one to another by daylight, to the number of three or four, without which they could not find their way over the same. This, however, we relate on the information of the Indians. They also assert that we can proceed in boats to the river of Canada, which we deem incredible.

The other arm of the North river runs by four sprouts (as we have related) to the great falls of the *Maquas kill* (Mohawk river), which the Indians name the Chahoos, and our nation the Great Falls; above which the river is again several hundred yards wide, and the falls we estimate to be one hundred and fifty or two hundred feet high.* The water glides over the falls as smooth as if it ran over an even wall and fell over the same. The precipice is formed of firm blue rock; near by and below the falls there stand several rocks, which appear splendid in the water, rising above it like high turf-heaps, apparently from eight, sixteen, to thirty feet high; very delightful to the eye. This place is well

* This is careless guessing, the falls being seventy feet high.—TRANS.

calculated to exalt the fancy of the poets. The ancient fabulous writers would, if they had been here, have exalted those works of nature, by the force of imagination, into the most artful and elegant descriptive illusions. The waters descend rapidly downwards from the falls, over a stony bottom, skipping, foaming and whirling boisterously about the distance of a gunshot or more; when it resumes an even course, and flows downwards. We name this the Maquas Kill, but still it is wider in most places than the Yssell of the Netherlands. It however always runs one way; is navigable for boats; being tolerably deep and not rapid; but it extends above sixty miles, and runs through the Maquas and Senecas countries to a lake, remaining boatable all the way. The river passes through fine land, and abounds with fish. The Indians, when they travel by water, and come to trade, usually come in canoes made of the bark of trees, which they know how to construct. When they come near the falls, they land, and carry their boats and their lading some distance below the falls, and proceed on their voyage; otherwise, they would be driven over the falls and destroyed. An occurrence of this kind took place here in our time. An Indian, whom I have known, accompanied by his wife and child, with sixty beaver skins, descended the river in his canoe, in the spring, when the water runs rapid and the current is strongest, for the purpose of selling his beaver to the Netherlands. This Indian carelessly approached too near to the falls, before he discovered his danger, and notwithstanding his utmost exertion to gain the land, his frail bark with all on board was swept over by the rapid current and down the falls; his wife and child were killed, his bark shattered to pieces, his cargo of furs damaged. But his life was preserved. I have frequently seen the Indian, and have heard him relate the perilous occurrence or adventure.

Of the Fresh River (Connecticut river).

This river is called the Fresh river, because it affords more fresh water than many other rivers. It has advantageous navigable situations. It also has finely situated land, and the country affords a tolerably good fur trade. But as this river with its advantages is mostly in the occupancy of the English nation, to the injury and disadvantage of the Hon. the West India Company, which they continue to occupy, whereby the Company is injured every year. It will be painful to us to recapitulate the subject, as the same is stated in the remonstrance of the New-Netherlanders; where we leave the matter and pass to the East river.

Of the East River.

This river is thus named, because it extends eastward from the city of New-Amsterdam. By some this river is held to be an arm of the sea, or a bay, because it is very wide in some places, and because both ends of the same are connected with, and empty into the ocean. This subtilty notwithstanding, we adopt the common opinion and hold it to be a river. Be it then a river or a bay, as men may please to name it, still it is one of the best, most fit and most convenient places and most advantageous accommodations, which a country can possess or desire, for the following reasons :—Long Island, which is about forty miles in length, makes this river. The river, and most of the creeks, bays and inlets joining the same, are navigable in winter and in summer without much danger. This river also affords a safe and convenient passage at all seasons to those who desire to sail east or west ; and the same is most used, because the outside passage is more dangerous. Most of the English (of New-England) who wish to go south to Virginia, to South river, or to other southern places, pass through this river, which brings no small traffic and advantage to the city of New-Amsterdam. This also causes the English to frequent our harbours, to which they are invited for safety. Lastly, this river is famous on account of its convenient bays, inlets, havens, rivers, and creeks, on both sides, to wit, on the side of Long Island and on the side of the fast or main land. In the Netherlands, no such place is known. Of this and the other rivers of New-Netherlands, enough has been said, in our opinion, for this time and for our purpose.

Of the several Waters, and their Diversity.

In this place we will briefly notice the waters, before we notice other matters. In general, we say, to describe *per species* would take too long, and draw us from our original plan. We find in New-Netherlands many fine waters, kills, brooks and streams which are navigable, large and roomy, as well on the sea-board as far inland : also many runs of water, sprouts, stream-kills and brooks having many fine falls, which are suitable for every kind of milling work. Inland, there are also several standing waters and lakes, as large as small seas, also large rivers abounding with fish. The rivers have their origin in sprouts which flow from valleys, and in springs, which connected form beautiful streams. But inasmuch as a report has already been published of a principal part of the waters, near the sea, and of the rivers before mentioned, there still remain

several which deserve the names of rivers. There are also several inland waters; some are large, and others of less dimensions, which mostly lie near the sea-shores south of the North River; many of which are navigable and roomy kills and creeks suitable for inland navigation; and those by the industry of man are susceptible of great betterments and improvements, as may be seen by the chart of the New-Netherlands. There also are, as before remarked, several falls, streams and running brooks, suitable for every kind of water-work for the convenience and advantage of man, together with numerous small streams and sprouts throughout the country, serving as arteries or veins to the body, running in almost every direction, and affording an abundance of pure living water. Those are not numerous near the sea-shore, where the water in some places is brackish, but still the same is of service, and is drank by the wild and domestic animals. Many of the springs run into the rivers, and thence into the sea. In addition to those, there are also many fine springs and veins of pure water inland and in places where no other water can be obtained, as upon the mountains, high elevated rocks and cliffs, where like veins the water flows out of fissures and pours down the cliffs and precipices, some of which are so remarkable that they are esteemed as great curiosities. Other streams rise in bushy woods, through which the summer sun never shines, which are much trodden by the wild beasts, and wherein the decayed leaves and rotting vegetation falls, all which tend to render the water foul. Those however in their course again become clear and wonderfully pure. Some of them possess the extraordinary quality of never freezing in the bitterest cold weather, when they smoke from their natural warmth, and any frozen article immersed in those waters thaws immediately. If the unclouded sun shone on those springs for whole days with summer heat, the water would still remain so cold that no person would bear to hold his hand in it for any length of time in the hottest weather. This peculiarity makes these waters agreeable to men and animals, as the water may be drank without danger; for however fatigued or heated a person may be who drinks of these waters, they do no injury in the hottest weather. The Indians, gunners, and other persons use those waters freely at all seasons, and I have never heard that any *pleurisy* or other disease had been caused by their use.

The Indians inform us that there are other waters in the country differing in taste from the common water, which are good for many ailments and diseases. As this is intimated by the Indians, therefore we do not place full confidence in the information, not knowing the facts; yet we deem the reports probable, because the land abounds in metals and minerals, through

which spring veins may filter and partake of the mineral qualities, and retain the same.

It is a great convenience and ease to the citizens of New-Netherlands, that the country is not subject to great floods and inundations, for near the sea, or where the water ebbs and rises, there are no extraordinary floods. The tide usually rises and falls from five to six feet perpendicular, in some places more, in others less, as by winds and storms affected. The flood and ebb tides are strong but not rapid. Sometimes where the wind blows strong from the sea, at spring tides the water rises a foot or two higher than usual; but this is not common, hence, of little inconvenience. But, at the colony of Rensselaerwyck, Esopus, Catskill, and other places, from which the principal upper waters flow, they are entirely fresh at those places. The lowlands are sometimes overflowed once or twice in a year when the wind and current are in opposition; but even then, they who guard against those occurrences in time suffer but little. Sometimes the water may wash out a little in places, but the land is manured by the sediment left by the water. Those floods do not stand long; as they rise quick, they also again fall off in two or three days.

Of the Formation, Soil, and Appearance of the Land.

Having spoken of the waters, we will now treat of the land, with its natural, superficial appearance, beginning with the formations of the earth. Near and along the seashores, the soil is light and sandy, with a mixture of clay, which enriches the land. The productions are different kinds of wood, various fruits and vegetables. Barrens and sterile heath land are not here. The whole country has a waving surface, and in some places high hills and protruding mountains, particularly those named the Highlands, which is a place of high, connected mountain land, about three miles broad, extending in curved forms throughout the country; separated in some places, and then again connected. There also is much fine level land, intersected with brooks, affording pasturage of great length and breadth, but mostly along the rivers, and near the salt water side. Inland most of the country is waving, with hills which generally are not steep, but ascend gradually. We sometimes in travelling imperceptibly find ourselves on high elevated situations, from which we overlook large portions of the country. The neighbouring eminence, the surrounding valleys and the highest trees are overlooked, and again lost in the distant space. Here our attention is arrested in the beautiful landscape around us, here the painter can find rare and beautiful subjects for the employment of his pencil,

and here also the huntsman is animated when he views the enchanting prospects presented to the eyes ; on the hills, at the brooks and in the valleys, where the game abounds and where the deer are feeding, or gamboling or resting in the shades in full view.

The surface of the land generally is composed of a black soil intermixed with clay, about a foot or a foot and a half deep, in some places more, and in some less ; below, the stratum is white, reddish and yellow clay, which in some places is mixed with sand, and in others with gravel and stones. Here and there, large rocks and stones appear on the surface. There are also hills of pure clay, but sand hills I have not seen, except near the seashore, which have been cast up or formed by the ocean. There also are very rocky places which our naturalists suppose abound in minerals. The mountains and highlands are in some places tillable and fertile, the soil being composed of clay intermixed with stone. Other parts are composed of rocks, of various colours, but all overgrown with wood, growing in the seams, rents, clefts, and ravines. Such are the aspects of the mountains, the hills and inland country. Near the rivers and water sides there are large extensive plains containing several hundred *morgens* ;* in one place more and in another less, which are very convenient for plantations, villages and towns. There also are brooklands and fresh and salt meadows ; some so extensive that the eye cannot oversee the same. Those are good for pasturage and hay, although the same are overflowed by the spring tides, particularly near the seaboard. These meadows resemble the low and outlands of the Netherlands. Most of them could be dyked and cultivated. We also find meadow grounds far inland, which are all fresh and make good hayland. Where the meadows are boggy and wet, such failings are easily remedied by cutting and breaking the bogs in winter and letting off the water in the spring. There also would be much more meadow ground, but as the soil is natural for wood, and as the birds and the winds carry the seeds in every direction ; hence, those moist, low grounds are covered with timber and underwoods which we call cripple bushes. The situations are curious to behold where those lands are cleared and cultivated. They are wonderfully fertile, which in short, is the general quality of such land, and of most of the places we have noticed. Thus we tender to the kind reader the fruitfulness of this land, subject to his own judgment. I admit that I am incompetent to describe the beauties, the grand and sublime works, wherewith Providence has diversified this land. Our opinions are formed by the eye alone, therefore we cannot do justice, and give assurance to the heart.

* A Morgen is somewhat less than two acres.

Of the wood, the natural productions and fruits of the land.

The New-Netherlands, with other matters, is very fruitful, and fortunate in its fine woods ; so much so, that the whole country is covered with wood, and in our manner of speaking, there is all too much of it, and in our way. Still it comes to hand to build vessels and houses, and to enclose the farms &c. The oak trees are very large ; from sixty to seventy feet high without knots, and from two to three fathoms thick, being of various sizes. There are several kinds of oak, such as white, smooth bark, rough bark, grey bark and black bark. It is all durable wood, being as good as the oak of the Rhine or the Weser when properly worked, according to the opinion of our woodcutters, who are judges of timber and are sawyers. The nut-wood grows as tall as the oak, but not so heavy. It is probable that this kind of wood will be useful for many purposes, it grows straight and is tough and hard. We now use it for cogs and rounds in our mills and for threshing-flails, swivel-trees and other farming purposes. It also is excellent firewood, surpassing every other kind, and setting at naught our old adage, "The man is yet to come, who can find better wood to burn than oak." This wood is far better as well for heat as duration. It possesses a peculiar sap, which causes it to burn freely, whether green or dry. If we draw it up out of the fresh water where it has lain a long time, still, on account of its hardness, it is even then uncommonly durable on the fire. We all agree, that no turf, or other common fuel is equal to nut-wood. When it is dry, it keeps fire and sparkles like matches. Our women prefer nut-coals to turf for their stoves, because they last longer, and are not buried in ashes. This kind of wood is found all over the New-Netherlands in such abundance, that it cannot become scarce in the first hundred years with an increased population. There also is oak and ash enough to supply its place for many purposes. The land also is so natural to produce wood, that in a few years large trees will be grown, which I can say with certainty from my own observation ; and that unless there be natural changes or great improvidence, there can be no scarcity of wood in this country.

It has happened when I have been out with the natives, (*Wilden*, for so we name those who are not born of Christian parents,) that we have come to a piece of young woodland. When I have told them, in conversation, that they would do well to clear off such land, because it would bear good corn, that they said, "it is but twenty years since we planted corn there, and now it is woods again." I asked them severally if it were true, when they all answered in the affirmative. This

relation was also corroborated by others. To return to the subject : this woodland was composed of oak, nut and other kinds of wood, but principally of oak and nut ; and there were several trees in the same which were a fathom in circumference. The wood was so closely grown that it was difficult to pass through it on horseback. As the wood appeared young and thrifty, I give credit to the relation of the natives. I have also observed that the youngest woodlands are always covered closest with wood, and where the growth is small, the woods are so thick as to render walking through the same difficult. But where the woods are old, the timber is large and heavy, whereby the underwood is shaded, which causes it to die and perish.

The Indians have a yearly custom (which some of our Christians have also adopted) of burning the woods, plains and meadows in the fall of the year, when the leaves have fallen, and when the grass and vegetable substances are dry. Those places which are then passed over are fired in the spring in April. This practice is named by us and the Indians, "*bush burning*," which is done for several reasons ; first, to render hunting easier, as the bush and vegetable growth renders the walking difficult for the hunter, and the crackling of the dry substances betrays him and frightens away the game. Secondly, to thin out and clear the woods of all dead substances and grass, which grow better the ensuing spring. Thirdly, to circumscribe and enclose the game within the lines of the fire, when it is more easily taken, and also, because the game is more easily tracked over the burned parts of the woods.

The bush burning presents a grand and sublime appearance. On seeing it from without, we would imagine that not only the dry leaves, vegetables and limbs would be burnt, but that the whole woods would be consumed where the fire passes, for it frequently spreads and rages with such violence, that it is awful to behold ; and when the fire approaches houses, gardens, and wooden enclosures, then great care and vigilance are necessary for their preservation, for I have seen several houses which have recently been destroyed, before the owners were apprized of their danger.

Notwithstanding the apparent danger of the entire destruction of the woodlands by the burning, still the green trees do not suffer. The outside bark is scorched three or four feet high, which does them no injury, for the trees are not killed. It however sometimes happens that in the thick pine woods, wherein the fallen trees lie across each other, and have become dry, that the blaze ascends and strikes the tops of the trees, setting the same on fire, which is immediately increased by the resinous knots and leaves, which promote the blaze, and is passed by the wind from tree to tree, by which the entire tops of the trees

are sometimes burnt off, while the bodies remain standing. Frequently great injuries are done by such fires, but the burning down of entire woods never happens. I have seen many instances of wood-burning in the colony of Rensselaerwyck, where there is much pine wood. Those fires appear grand at night from the passing vessels in the river, when the woods are burning on both sides of the same. Then we can see a great distance by the light of the blazing trees, the flames being driven by the wind, and fed by the tops of the trees. But the dead and dying trees remain burning in their standing positions, which appear sublime and beautiful when seen at a distance.

Hence it will appear that there actually is such an abundance of wood in the New-Netherlands, that, with ordinary care, it will never be scarce there. There always are, however, in every country, some people so improvident, that even they may come short here, and for this reason we judge that it should not be destroyed needlessly. There, however, is such an abundance of wood, that they who cultivate the land for planting and sowing can do nothing better than destroy it, and thus clear off the land for tillage, which is done by cutting down the trees and collecting the wood into great heaps and burning the same, to get it out of their way. Yellow and white pine timber, in all their varieties, is abundant here, and we have heard the Northerners say (who reside here) that the pine is as good here as the pine of Norway. But the pine does not grow as well near the salt water, except in some places. Inland, however, and high up the rivers, it grows in large forests, and it is abundant, and heavy enough for masts and spars for ships. There also are chestnuts here, like those of the Netherlands, which are spread over the woods. Chestnuts would be plentier if it were not for the Indians, who destroy the trees by stripping off the bark for covering for their houses. They, and the Netherlands also, cut down the trees in the chestnut season, and cut off the limbs to gather the nuts, which also lessens the trees. We also find several kinds of beech trees, but those bear very little. Amongst the other trees, the water-beeches grow very large along the brooks, heavier and larger than most of the trees of the country. When those trees begin to bud, then the bark becomes a beautiful white, resembling the handsomest satin. This tree retains the leaves later than any other tree of the woods. Trees of this kind are considered more ornamental and handsomer than the linden trees for the purpose of planting near dwelling-houses. We can give no comparison with this species of trees, and can give the same no better name to make the wood known.* There also is wild ash, some trees large ;

* The author undoubtedly refers to our buttonwood tree, (*Platanus occidentalis*) otherwise called Sycamore.—TRANS

and maple trees, the wood resembling cedar; white-wood trees, which grow very large,—the Indians frequently make their canoes of this wood, hence we name it *Canoe-wood*;* we use it for flooring, because it is bright and free of knots. There are also two kinds of ash, with linden, birch, yew, poplar, sapine, alder, willow, thorn trees, sassafras, persimmon, mulberry, wild cherry, crab, and several other kinds of wood, the names of which are unknown to us, but the wood is suitable for a variety of purposes. Some of the trees bear fruit. The oak trees in alternate years bear many acorns of the chestnut species. The nuts grow about as large as our persimmons, but they are not as good as ours. The mulberries are better and sweeter than ours, and ripen earlier. Several kinds of plums, wild or small cherries, juniper, small kinds of apples, many hazel-nuts, black currants, gooseberries, blue India figs, and strawberries in abundance all over the country, some of which ripen at half May, and we have them until July; blueberries, raspberries, black-caps, &c., with artichokes, ground-acorns, ground beans, wild onions, and leeks like ours, with several other kinds of roots and fruits, known to the Indians, who use the same which are disregarded by the Netherlanders, because they have introduced every kind of garden vegetables, which thrive and yield well. The country also produces an abundance of fruits like the Spanish capers, which could be preserved in like manner.

Of the Fruit Trees brought over from the Netherlands.

The Netherland settlers, who are lovers of fruit, on observing that the climate was suitable to the production of fruit trees, have brought over and planted various kinds of apple and pear trees, which thrive well. Those also grow from the seeds, of which I have seen many, which, without grafting, bore delicious fruit in the sixth year. The stocks may also be grafted when the same are as large as thorns, which, being cut off near the root and grafted, are then set into the ground, when the graft also strikes root: otherwise the fruit is somewhat hard. But in general, grafting is not as necessary here as in the Netherlands, for most of the fruit is good without it, which there would be harsh and sour, or would not bear. The English have brought over the first quinces, and we have also brought over stocks and seeds which thrive well. Orchard cherries thrive well and produce large fruit. Spanish cherries, fore-runners, morellæ, of every kind we have, as in the Nether-

* *The Liriodendron tulipifera*.—TRANS.

lands ; and the trees bear better, because the blossoms are not injured by the frosts. The peaches, which are sought after in the Netherlands, grow wonderfully well here. If a stone is put into the earth, it will spring in the same season, and grow so rapidly as to bear fruit in the fourth year, and the limbs are frequently broken by the weight of the peaches, which usually are very fine. We have also introduced morecotoons (a kind of peach,) apricots, several sorts of the best plums, almonds, persimmons, cornelian cherries, figs, several sorts of currants, gooseberries, calissiens, and thorn apples ; and we do not doubt but that the olive would thrive and be profitable, but we have them not. Although the land is full of many kinds of grapes, we still want settings of the best kinds from Germany, for the purpose of enabling our wine planters here to select the best kinds, and to propagate the same. In short, every kind of fruit which grows in the Netherlands is plenty already in the New-Netherlands, which have been introduced by the lovers of agriculture, and the fruits thrive better here, particularly such kinds as require a warmer climate.

Of the Grape Vines and Vineyards.

It will not readily be credited how numerous the vine stocks are in the New-Netherlands, where they grow wild throughout the country. We do not find a district or a nook of land without grape vines. Many grow in the open fields ; many in the woods under the wild trees ; many along the rivers and the brooks ; many along the hills and at the foot of the mountains, and run up the trees ; some run over the scrubby bushes, some over the brush and weeds, some over the grass and ground, so that we are frequently, on horseback and on foot, entangled in the vines, and are extricated with difficulty and with loss of time. The vines which run up the trees bear grapes, but not many except in some years, when they bear everywhere in great abundance, and then it is gratifying and wonderful to see these natural productions, and to observe such excellent and lovely fruit growing wild ; and very little attention is paid to the same. The country when the vines are in bloom, is perfumed with the lovely fragrance of the blossoms, and it is delightful to travel at this season of the year. It is a pitiful sight to see the grape vines run up the trees, over the bushes, and hidden among the weeds, neglected, untrimmed, and uncultivated, where the roots never feel the sun, by reason of which the grapes do not ripen in the proper season. This, however, is true. Many of the vines extend to the tops of the trees, and to the outer branches, where they are hidden and covered by the

leaves, and never nourished by the rays of the sun, which causes the fruit to be sour, harsh, fleshy and strong, which with proper attention would be good. As a proof of this subject, we find that the vines which run up the dead and dry trees, (from which the bark has been stripped by the Indians, to cover their dwellings,) and are of course exposed to the sun, bear sweeter and earlier grapes than ordinary. The like also occurs where the vines run along the brooks in a southern exposure, where the sun shines direct on the vine. I, with others, have seen this difference, and in such situations have found, gathered, and eaten, delicious ripe grapes in the middle of August. For the grapes to ripen thus early is not common; but we may infer, and it is our opinion, that the fruit would be much earlier, if the vines were dressed, trimmed, and manured, than it now is, but this is never done to the wild vines. That the wild vines, with proper care and management, will produce as good grapes and as good wine as is made in Germany and France, is clear and undeniable. Proofs and examples of this fact are seen at the South river, where the Swedes reside, who have laid down vines from which others have sprung, which they name suckers, from which they make delightful wine year after year. The grapes and their juice are not all of one kind or colour. They have blue grapes, of different shades; others are reddish, and others entirely white, like the Muscatels; hence the colour of the wine is also different. The grapes and the clusters are also of different sizes. The white and the reddish grapes grow as large as the Netherland Muscatels. Of the blue grapes, some are large, and others small; the largest are commonly fleshy, and are therefore called *pork grapes* by the citizens. But those who have a proper knowledge of vineyards say, that discreet cultivation will remove this objection, and that the juice of the grape may be as good as in other places. Some of the native wine is white; some is also reddish; another kind is as dark as the *wine Française*, but this kind is only made from the blue grapes, and to my knowledge from no others. They press a juice out of the blue grapes, which runs thick and is of a dark red colour, resembling dragon's blood more than wine; a small glass of this wine will colour a can of water as deep red as the common red wine in Spain.

Our Netherlanders are unaccustomed to the management of vineyards, and have not given much attention to the cultivation of the vine. Some of them have occasionally planted vines, but they have never treated them properly, and for this reason they have derived very little profit from their labour. I have, however, frequently drank good and well tasted domestic wine, and remark, that the fault is in the people, not in the grapes. Within the last few years, the lovers of the vineyard have paid

more attention to the cultivation of the vine, and have informed themselves on the subject. They have also introduced foreign stocks, and they have induced men to come over from Heidelberg who are vine dressers, for the purpose of attending to the vineyards; and to remedy every defect in the management of the grape, men are also coming over, who possess the most perfect skill in the planting and management of vineyards.

At this time, they have commenced the planting in good earnest, and with proper care. Several persons already have vineyards and wine hills under cultivation, and Providence blesses their labours with success, by affording fruit according to the most favourable expectation. Hereafter, from year to year, the cultivation of the vine will increase; for every one takes hold of the business—one man learns from another—and as the population increases rapidly, it is expected that in a few years there will be wine in abundance in the New-Netherlands.*

Of the Flowers.

The flowers in general which the Netherlanders have introduced there, are the white and red roses of different kinds, the cornelian roses, and stock roses; and those of which there were none before in the country, such as eglantine, several kinds of gillyflowers, jennetins, different varieties of fine tulips, crown imperials, white lilies, the lily frutularia, anemones, baredames, violets, marigolds, summer sots, &c. The clove tree has also been introduced; and there are various indigenous trees that bear handsome flowers, which are unknown in the Netherlands. We also find there some flowers of native growth, as for instance, sun flowers, red and yellow lilies, mountain lilies, morning stars, red, white, and yellow maritoffles, (a very sweet flower,) several species of bell flowers, &c.; to which I have not given particular attention, but *amateurs* would hold them in high estimation, and make them widely known.

Of the Healing Herbs, and the Indigo.

No reasonable person will doubt that there are not many medicinal and healing plants in the New-Netherlands. A certain chirurgeon who was also a botanist, had a beautiful garden there, wherein a great variety of medicinal wild plants were collected, but the owner has removed and the garden lies neglected. Because sickness does not prevail much, I suppose the subject

* A chapter on the products of kitchen gardens follows next in the original, but having been omitted by the Translator, will be inserted hereafter. See p. 185.—ED.

has received less attention. The plants which are known to us are the following, viz : Capilli veneris, scholopendria, angelica, polypodium, verbascum album, calteus sacerdotis, atriplex hortensis and marina, chortium, turrites, calamus aromaticus, sassafras, rois Virginianum, ranunculus, plantago, bursa pastoris, malva, origænum, geranicum, althea, cinoroton pseudo, daphne, viola, ireas, indigo silvestris, sigillum salamonis, sanguis draconum, consolidæ, millefolium, noli me tangere, cardo benedictus, agrimonium, serpentariæ, coriander, leeks, wild leeks, Spanish figs, elatine, camperfolie, petum male and female, and many other plants. The land is full of different kinds of herbs and trees besides those enumerated, among which there undoubtedly are good *simplicia*, with which discreet persons would do much good ; for we know that the Indians with roots, bulbs, leaves, &c. cure dangerous wounds and old sores, of which we have seen many instances, which, for the sake of brevity, we pass by.

The *Indigo silvestris* grows naturally, without the attention of any man, and there is no doubt but that with proper care and attention, much profit might be derived from its cultivation. We have seen proofs of this, in the colony of Rensselaerwyck, where Kilian Van Rensselaer, (who always has been a zealous lover of the New-Netherlands,) sent seed, which was sown late on Bear Island, which has not above a foot of soil above the rock, and where no grass would grow well. The seed came up fine, but the dry summer turned the crop yellow, and dried the plants. We however saw, that if the seed had been sown in season, in a proper place, the result would have been good. Afterwards a certain citizen named Augustin Heerman, who is a curious man, and a lover of the country, made an experiment near New-Amsterdam, where he planted indigo seed, which grew well and yielded much. Samples of this indigo were sent over to the Netherlands, which were found to be better than common. Ridge planting has not been tried, but as the land is rich and strong, there is no doubt of success when the experiment is made. Mr. Minuit writes that he has sown Canary seed, and that it grew and yielded well ; but he adds, that the country is new, and in a state of beginning, and that the time of the cultivators should not be spent on such experiments, but to the raising of the necessaries of life ; for which, God be praised, there is plenty and to spare, for a reasonable price. And we begin to supply provisions and drink in common with our Virginia neighbours to the West Indies and the Caribbee Islands, which we expect will increase from year to year, and in time become a fine trade, in connexion with our Netherlands and Brazil commerce.

Of the Agricultural Productions.

The pursuit of agriculture is not heavy and expensive there, as it is in the Netherlands. First, because the fencing and enclosing of the land does not cost much; for instead of the Netherlands dykes and ditches, they set up post and rail, or palisado fences, and when new clearings are made, they commonly have fencing timber enough on the land to remove, which costs nothing but the labour, which is reasonably cheap to those who have their own hands, and without domestic labour very little can be effected. The land whereon there are few standing trees, and which has been grubbed and ploughed twice, we hold to be prepared for a crop of winter grain. For summer grain one ploughing is sufficient. If it is intended to sow the same field again with winter grain, then the stubble is ploughed in, and the land is sowed with wheat or rye, which in ordinary seasons will yield a fine crop.

I can affirm that during my residence of nine years in the country, I have never seen land manured, and it is seldom done. The land is kept in order by tillage, which is often done to keep down weeds and brush, but for which it would have rest. Some persons, (which I also hold to be good management,) when their land becomes foul and weedy, break it up and sow the same with peas, because a crop of peas softens the land and makes it clean; but most of the land is too rich for peas, which when sown on the same grow so rank that the crop falls and rots on the land. Some of the land must be reduced by cropping it with wheat and barley, before it is proper to sow the same with peas. We have frequently seen the straw of wheat and barley grow so luxuriant that the crops yielded very little grain.

I deem it worthy of notice, that with proper attention, in ordinary seasons, two ripe crops of peas can be raised on the same land in one season, in the New-Netherlands. It has frequently been done in the following manner, viz. The first crop was sown in the last of March or first of April, which will ripen about the first of July; the crop is then removed, and the land ploughed, and sowed again with peas of the first crop. The second crop will ripen in September, or about the first of October, when the weather is still, fine and warm. The same can also be done with buckwheat, which has frequently been proved; but the first crop is usually much injured by finches and other birds, and as wheat and rye are plenty, therefore there is very little buckwheat sown. The maize (Indian corn) is carefully attended to, and is sufficient to the wants of the country.

The Turkey wheat, or maize, as the grain is named, many persons suppose to be the same kind of grain which Jesse sent parched by his son David to his other sons of the army of Israel. This is a hardy grain, and is fit for the sustenance of man and animals. It is easily cultivated, and will grow in almost every kind of land, in the worst and strongest in the country, even in a foul and worn-out soil. It is a good crop to subdue new land, and to prepare it for other purposes. When the timber has been removed, and the brush burnt up, then we take a broad hoe, and cut out hills about six feet apart, and plant five or six grains in a hill, with which some persons also plant Turkey beans (as before noticed). After the grain shoots up and grows, it requires two dressings. The weeding and cleaning is done with a broad adze, without breaking up the ground, and is not very laborious work. The weeds and trash in the first dressing, are cut off and placed in a row between the hills. The second dressing is easier. Then the weeds and sprouts are cut off around the hills, and the weeds and rubbish of the first cleaning, are drawn round the corn-hills, which afterwards grow high and tall, and smother all the weeds, stumps, and trash, and kill all other vegetation except pumpkins; those will grow among the maize.

When the land has been treated as above described for one summer, it is fit for any other use; or it may be planted with maize again, which will then grow better than in the first year, and be easier kept clean, and with less labour. Tobacco may be planted on the land, or it may be ploughed and broken up for other purposes, which can then be easily done, because the roots are in a state of decay and easily broken up. After a corn crop is gathered, the land may be sowed with winter grain in the fall without previous ploughing. When this is intended, the corn is gathered, the stalks are pulled up and burnt, the hills levelled, and the land sown and harrowed smooth and level. Good crops are raised in this manner. I have seen rye sown as before described, which grew so tall that a man of common size would bind the ears together above his head, which yielded seven and eight *schepels*,* Amsterdam measure, per *vin* of 108 sheaves, of which two *vins* made a wagon load.

The Rev. Johannis Megapolensis, Junior, minister of the colony of Rensselaerwyck, in certain letters which he has written to his friends, which were printed (as he has told me) without his consent, but may be fully credited, he being a man of truth and of great learning, who writes in a vigorous style,—states, with other matters, that a certain farmer had cropped one field

* A *schepel* is three pecks English.

with wheat eleven years in succession, which to many persons will seem extraordinary, and may not be credited. Still it is true, and the residents of the place testify to the same, and they add, that this same land was ploughed but twelve times in the eleven seasons—twice in the first year, and once in every succeeding year, when the stubble was ploughed in, the wheat sown and harrowed under. I owned land adjoining the land referred to, and have seen the eleventh crop, which was tolerably good. The man who did this is named Brandt Pelen; he was born in the district of Utrecht, and at the time was a magistrate (*schepen*) of the colony of Rensselaerwyck. We acknowledge that this relation appears to be marvellous, but in the country it is not so, for there are many thousand *morgens* of as good land there, as the land of which we have spoken.

During the period when I resided in the New Netherlands, a certain honorable gentleman, named John Everts Bout, (who was recommended to the colonists by their High Mightinesses, &c.) laid a wager that he could raise a crop of barley on a field containing seven *morgens* of land, which would grow so tall in every part of the field, that the ears could easily be tied together above his head. I went to see the field of barley, and found that the straw, land by land, was from six to seven feet high, and very little of it any shorter. It has also been stated to me as a fact, that barley has frequently been raised, although not common, which yielded eleven *schepel*, Amsterdam measure, per *vin* of 108 sheaves. Therefore, all persons who are acquainted with the New-Netherlands, judge the country to be as well adapted for the cultivation of grain, as any part of the world which is known to the Netherlands, or is in their possession.

With the other productions of the land we must include tobacco, which is also cultivated in the country, and is, as well as the maize, well adapted to prepare the land for other agricultural purposes, which also, with proper attention, grows fine, and yields more profit. Not only myself but hundreds of others, have raised tobacco, the leaves of which were three-fourths of a yard long. The tobacco raised here is of different kind, but principally of the Virginia kind, from which it differs little in flavour, although the Virginia is the best. Still it does not differ so much in quality as in price. Next to the Virginia it will be the best; many persons esteem it better, and give it a preference. It is even probable, that when the people extend the cultivation of the article, and more tobacco is planted, that it will gain more reputation and esteem. Many persons are of opinion that the defect in flavour arises from the newness of the land, and hasty cultivation, which will gradually be removed.

Barley grows well in the country, but it is not much needed. Cummin seed, canary seed, and the like, have been tried, and Commander Minuit testifies that those articles succeed well, but are not sought after. Flax and hemp will grow fine, but as the women do not spin much, and the Indians have hemp in abundance in the woods from which they make strong ropes and nets, for these reasons very little flax is raised; but the persons who do sow the seed, find that the land is of the proper quality for such articles.*

Of the Minerals, Earths, and Stones.

To the persons who will please to notice the formation of the country of the New Netherlands, which is mostly elevated above the floods, and free from the overflowings of its upper waters; and that it is mountainous in many places, and that it is situated in a temperate climate, such persons will, on contemplation, readily conclude that the country possesses minerals; although the Netherlanders have not been at much cost or trouble to examine and search for mines and minerals, which has not happened so much from ignorance and negligence as may be imagined, but from other good considerations. The prevailing opinion of the common people has been, that the country abounds in minerals; and it is true and certain that it possesses many valuable minerals, including gold and other precious metals. But such must be sought for by men of science. It cannot be done by the common people, which our rulers have had no disposition to encourage; while, on the other hand, the common citizens have other employments.

Considering that the Netherlanders are not numerous in the country, the discovery of minerals of more value than iron would attract the attention and cupidity of powerful and jealous friends, who in time might easily oust us, and shut the door against us, and then occupy and rule in our possessions. Passing by such speculative probabilities, and to satisfy the

* The peas referred to on page 157 of this translation, the author says, are the large grey kind, called *Old Wives*, having blue and white large pods or shells. Few are sown on an acre, but most in the gardens. The author does not state what kind of barley he refers to, whether it was winter or summer; but we judge it to have been winter barley. We have seen oat straw six feet long, but have never seen barley above five feet high. We, however, have seen ten acres of winter barley, which yielded 600 bushels of merchantable grain, and sixteen acres of summer barley, which yielded 42 bushels per acre. We have also conversed with a respectable farmer of Yates county, (Mr. Dox,) who stated that he had cropped one field with wheat seven years in succession, and that the last crop was fine wheat. Van der Donck's relation on the subject of wheat and barley may therefore be credited.—TRANS.

inquiries of our real friends, we will describe more particularly some facts and occurrences which have passed at several places, on the subject of minerals. It is now placed beyond a doubt that valuable minerals abound in the country, as experiments and satisfactory proofs have been made to establish those facts by the direction of Governor Kieft, in several instances, as well of gold as of quicksilver. I was present, and an eye-witness to the experiments, when the minerals proved to be rich and good, and know that specimens of the same from time to time were sent for the Netherlands which were all lost in the sea. In the year 1645, a mine was discovered on the Raritan, by accident or chance, which is held to be richer and better than any other before known. This discovery was the subject of much conversation at the time. For the information of the curious, we will briefly relate an account of another occurrence according to the truth.

In the year 1645, we were employed with the officers and rulers at the colony of Rensselaerwyck in negotiating a treaty of peace with the Maquas, (Mohawk Indians,) who then were and still are the strongest and fiercest Indian nation of the country; whereat the Director General, William Kieft, of the one part, and the chiefs of the Indian nations of the neighbouring country, on the other part, attended. To proceed with the treaty, the citizens of Rensselaerwyck procured a certain Indian, named *Agheroense*, to attend and serve as an interpreter, who was well known to the Christians, having been much among them, and who also spoke and understood all the Indian languages which were spoken by the parties that attended the negotiations. As the Indians are generally disposed to paint and ornament their faces with several brilliant colours, it happened on a certain morning that this Indian interpreter, who lodged in the Director's house, came down stairs, and in presence of the Director and myself sat down, and began stroking and painting his face. The Director observed the operation, and requested me to inquire of the Indian what substance he was using, which he handed to me, and I passed it to the Director, who examined the same attentively, and judged from its weight and from its greasy and shining appearance, that the lump contained some valuable metal, for which I commuted with the Indian, to ascertain what it contained. We acted with it, according to the best of our judgment, and gave the same to be proved by a skilful doctor of medicine, named Johannes La Montagne, of the Council in the New-Netherlands. The lump of mineral was put into a crucible, which was placed in a fire, and after the same according to my opinion) had been in the fire long enough, it was taken

out, when it delivered two pieces of gold worth about three guilders. This proof was kept secret.*

After the peace was made, an officer with a few men were sent to the Berg mountain, to which the Indian directed them, for a quantity of the mineral, who returned with about a bucket full, intermingled with stones, as they deemed best. They did not observe that the place from which they took the earth had been dug before. Of this mineral several experiments were made, which proved as good as the first. We supposed that we had secured the discovery safely. The Director General thought proper to embrace the first opportunity to send a small quantity of the mineral to the Netherlands, for which purpose he despatched a man named Arent Corsen, with a bag of the mineral to New-Haven, to take passage in an English ship for England, and to proceed to Holland. This vessel sailed at Christmas, and was lost at sea. Misfortune attended all on board.

The Director General, William Kieft, left the New-Netherlands for the Netherlands, in the year 1647, on board of the ship *Princess*, taking with him specimens of the proved minerals, and of several others. This ship was also lost, and the minerals remained in the sea.

Now we have Cornelius Van Tienhooven for Secretary of the New-Netherlands. Being here in Holland, he states that he had tested several specimens of the mineral, which proved satisfactory; the subject therefore need not be doubted.

This example I have deemed it proper to state, to which others might be added, but it would then become tedious. We find in the country up-drifts, and signs of many mines, but mostly of iron. The people of New-England already cast their own cannon, plates, pots, and cannon balls, from native iron. We now have people in the New-Netherlands who understand mining, who declare that there are much better and richer metals of different kinds there, than in New-England. But in our feeble opinion, it would not be advisable to go any further in disclosing and exposing those matters, as long as the place has so small a population.

The country has hills of fuller's earth, and several sorts of fine clay, such as white, yellow, red and black, which is fat and tough, suitable for pots, dishes, plates, tobacco-pipes, and the like wares. It is known from experience that bricks and tiles can be baked of the clay, and there is no doubt but that the business would be profitable, and the country be benefited if the trade was driven. Meantime crystal, like that of Muscovy, is found there; there is also an abundance of serpentine stone, but of a deeper green than that which is sold in Holland; there is also grey flagging, slate, grit or grinding-stone, but mostly of

*The mineral thus mistaken for gold was probably *pyrites*. The English settlers often made the same mistake.—Ed.

a red kind ; much quarry stone, several kinds of blue stone, suitable for mill-stones, for walls and for ornamental work. We also find a kind of stone like alabaster and marble with others of that species. But as the population is small, such things are not valued. When the population increases, and pride advances, then the same will be held in high estimation.

Of the Dyes and Colours.

The original colours of the New-Netherlands may properly be represented in two classes, viz. paints and colours composed of minerals, and made from the same, and from stone ; and those prepared from vegetables. The natives, as has been remarked, paint and ornament their faces and bodies with different colours, in various ways, according to their customs. For this purpose, they usually carry small bags of paints with them, keeping their colours separate, such as red, blue, green, brown, white, black, yellow, &c. The colours which they esteem most, are such as possess the most brilliancy, which shine like pure metals. Such was the kind spoken of as proved in the year 1645. Colours of this kind are mostly made of stone, which they know how to prepare by pounding, rubbing and grinding. Such they hold in higher estimation than the colours derived from herbs and plants. There, however, are various plants from which the Indians prepare several fine, lovely and bright colours, differing little in appearance from the stone colours, except in the glossy metallic appearance of the latter.

To describe perfectly and truly how the Indians prepare all these paints and colours, is out of my power. Their stone colours, they have informed me, are prepared as before stated ; but whether they add any greasy or adhesive substances to the preparations, I know not ; but I do know that all their paints of this kind have a fat and greasy feeling.

With the other colours which they prepare from plants and herbs, they usually pursue the same process. Without detaining the reader long, I will relate the process which I have seen performed ; others may be done in the same manner. A certain plant springs up and grows in the country, resembling the *Orache*, or golden herb, having many shoots from the same stalk, but it grows much larger than the *Orache*. This plant produces clusters of red and brown berries, which the Indians bruise, and press out the juice, and pour the same on flat pieces of bark, about six feet long and three broad, prepared for the purpose ; these are placed in the sun to dry out the moisture. If it does not dry out fast enough, or if they intend

to remove, which they frequently do in summer, then they heat smooth stones, and place the same into the juice of the berries on the bark, and thus they dry out the moisture speedily. The dry substance which remains on the bark is then scraped out, and put into small bags for use. This produces the finest purple colour I have ever seen. The Indians, when they use this colouring, temper the same with water; hence it comes off easily; but we believe if it was properly prepared by artists, it would be highly esteemed.

The paintings of the Indians are of little importance, being mostly confined to the colouring of their faces, bodies, and the skins which they wear. We have seen some counterfeit representations of trumpets in their strong houses or castles, wherein they hold their council assemblies, but their paintings are not spirited and ingenious. They also paint their shields and war hammers or clubs, and in their houses on the rail-work, they paint representations of canoes and animals, which are not well done.

On this subject I have another case which I have seen worthy of notice. The Indians use instead of plumes, a beautiful kind of hair, some of which is long, coarse and stiff, and some of it shorter and very fine. This they know how to unite and fix together in such a manner as to make the same appear beautiful, when they are dressed and ornamented with it. The hair they tie with small bands to suit their own fancies and fashions. They also know how to prepare a colouring, wherein they dye the hair a beautiful scarlet, which excites our astonishment and curiosity. The colour is so well fixed that rain, sun, and wind will not change it. It, however, appears better and more brilliant in the fine than in the coarse hair. Although the Indians do not appear to possess any particular art in this matter, still such beautiful red was never dyed in the Netherlands with any materials known to us. The coloured articles have been examined by many of our best dyers, who admire the colour, and admit that they cannot imitate the same, and remark that a proper knowledge of the art would be of great importance to their profession.*

Of the Animals of the New-Netherlands.

We will now speak of the cattle and animals of the New Netherlands, including such as have been introduced by the Christians, and those which are native to the country; beginning with the tame stock, which at the settlement of the country were brought over from the Netherlands, and which differ little from the original stock. The horses are of the proper breed

* The colouring matter spoken of by the author, we believe to have been made from the *Poke berries*.—TRANS. (*Phytolacca decandra*.—ED.)

for husbandry, having been brought from Utrecht for that purpose, and this stock has not diminished in size or quality. There are also horses of the English breed, which are lighter, not so good for agricultural use, but fit for the saddle. These do not cost as much as the Netherlands breed, and are easily obtained. There are *Curaçoon* and *Arabian* horses imported into the country, but those breeds are not very acceptable, because they do not endure the cold weather of the climate well, and sometimes die in winter. The whole of this breed require great care and attention in the winter. Fine large horses are bred in the country, which live long and are seldom diseased. There however is a plague, which is natural to the country, and destroys many horses. A horse which takes this plague is well, and dead in a short time. There appears to be no remedy for this distemper. The distemper appears like a paralytic affection; the diseased animal staggers like a drunken man, falls down, and dies in a short time. This malady has attracted the attention of many men, and there are those who have preserved the lives of many horses. It is therefore not considered as dangerous now as formerly. The origin of this disease has excited much attention, but the cause remains undiscovered. There also is an opinion prevailing that scientific horsemen, who are plenty in many places, but scarce in the New-Netherlands, will discover a remedy for this disease and ascertain its cause.

The cattle in New-Netherlands are mostly of the Holland breed, but usually do not grow as large, because the hay is not so good, and because the heifers are permitted to play in the second year for the purpose of increasing the stock. When this is not permitted until the proper time, they raise as fine cattle as we do in Holland. The Holland cattle, however, were subject to diseases when they were pastured on new ground, and fed on fresh hay only. This at the first, before a remedy was discovered, was very injurious; but it is now prevented by feeding with salt, by giving brackish drink, and by feeding with salt hay. There are also cattle brought over from the province of Utrecht, which are kept on the highlands at Amersfort, where they thrive as well as in Holland; the increase is not quite as large, but the stock give milk enough, thrive well in pasture, and yield much tallow.

They also have English cattle in the country, which are not imported by the Netherlands, but purchased from the English in New-England. Those cattle thrive as well as the Holland cattle, and do not require as much care and provender; and, as in England, this breed will do well unsheltered whole winters. This breed of cattle do not grow near as large as the Dutch cattle, do not give as much milk, and are much cheaper; but they fat and tallow well. They who desire to cross the

breeds, and raise the best kind of stock, put a Holland bull to their English cows, by which they produce a good mixed breed of cattle without much cost. Oxen do good service there, and are not only used by the English, but by some of the Netherlanders also, to the wagon and plough. The grazing of cattle for slaughtering, is also progressing, as well of oxen as of other cattle, which produces profit in beef and tallow.

Hogs are numerous and plenty. Many are bred and kept by the settlers in the neighbourhood of the woods and lowlands. Some of the citizens prefer the English breed of hogs, because they are hardy, and subsist better in winter without shelter; but the Holland hogs grow much larger and heavier, and have thicker pork. In some years acorns are so abundant in the woods, that the hogs become fine and fat on the same, their pork frequently being a hand-breadth in thickness. When it is not an acorn year, or where persons have not an opportunity to feed their swine on acorns, in those cases they fat their hogs on maize, or Turkey wheat, which, according to the accepted opinions, produces the best pork, being better than the Westphalia pork. The heavy pork is frequently six or seven fingers in thickness, and will crack when cut. The persons who desire to raise many hogs, take care to have sucking pigs in April. When the grass is fine, the sows and pigs are driven woodwards to help themselves. At a year old the young sows have pigs. Thus hogs are multiplied, and are plenty in the New-Netherlands.

Sheep are also kept in the New-Netherlands, but not as many as in New-England, where the weaving business is driven, and where much attention is paid to sheep, to which our Netherlanders pay little attention. The sheep thrive well, and become fat enough. I have seen mutton so exceedingly fat there, that it was too luscious and offensive. The sheep breed well, and are healthy. There is also good feeding in summer, and good hay for the winter. But the flocks require to be guarded and tended on account of the wolves, for which purpose men cannot be spared; there is also a more important hinderance to the keeping of sheep, which are principally kept for their wool. New-Netherlands throughout is a woody country, being almost every where beset with trees, stumps and brushwood, wherein the sheep pasture, and by which they lose most of their wool, which by appearance does not seem to be out, but when sheared turns out light in the fleeces. These are reasons against the keeping of sheep. The inhabitants keep more goats than sheep, which succeed best. Fat sheep are in great danger, when suffered to become lean; of goats there is no danger. Goats also give good milk, which is always necessary, and because they cost little, they are of im-

portance to the new settlers and planters, who possess small means. Such persons keep goats instead of cows. Goats cost little, and are very prolific; and the young castrated tups afford fine delightful meat, which is always in demand.

The New-Netherlanders also have every kind of domestic fowls, as we have in Holland, such as capons, turkeys, geese and ducks. There are also pigeoners, who keep several kinds of pigeons. In a word, they have tame animals of every description, including cats and dogs. Respecting the dogs which are trained to the gun for hunting, and to the water, better dogs are not to be found, and it is useless and unnecessary to take any to the country.

Of the Wild Animals.

Although the New-Netherlands lay in a fine climate, and although the country in winter seems rather cold, nevertheless lions are found there, but not by the Christians, who have traversed the land wide and broad and have not seen one. It is only known to us by the skins of the females, which are sometimes brought in by the Indians for sale; who on inquiry say, that the lions are found far to the southwest, distant fifteen or twenty days' journey, in very high mountains, and that the males are too active and fierce to be taken.*

Many bears are found in the country, but none like the grey and pale-haired bears of Muscovy and Greenland. The bears are of a shining pitch black colour; their skins are proper for muffs. Although there are many of these beasts, yet from the acute sharpness of their smelling, they are seldom seen by the Christians. Whenever they smell a person they run off. When the Indians go a-hunting, they dress themselves as Esau did, in clothes which have the flavour of the woods, (except in their sleeping and hiding season, whereon we will treat hereafter,) that they may not be discovered by their smell. The bears are sometimes seen by the Christians, when they are approached from the leeward side, or when they swim across water courses. The bears are harmless unless they are attacked or wounded, and then they defend themselves fiercely as long as they can. A person who intends to shoot a bear, should be careful to have a tree near him to retreat to for safety; for if his shot does not take good effect, and the bear is not killed instantly, which, on account of their toughness, seldom happens, then the hunter is in danger; for then the bear instantly makes a stopper of leaves or of any other substance, as instinct directs, wherewith the animal closes the wound, and directly proceeds towards the

* The animal here referred to is probably the Cougar, (*Felis concolor*), known at the north under the various names of panther, painter, and catamount, and in South America, as the puma, or South American lion.—ED.

hunter, if in sight, or to the place whence the smoke ascends and the gun was fired. In the meantime the hunter should be up the tree, which should be thick and full of limbs, otherwise the bear would also climb the tree easily. In this position the hunter has the advantage, and should be prepared to despatch his adversary; otherwise he must remain in his sanctuary until the rage of the animal is abated, which has frequently lasted two hours, and he retires. Hunters have related these particulars, who have preserved themselves as related.

The bears of this country are not ravenous, and do not subsist on flesh and carrion, as the bears of Muscovy and Greenland do. They subsist on grass, herbs, nuts, acorns and chest-nuts, which, we are told by the Indians, they will gather and eat on the trees. It is also affirmed by the Christians, that they have seen bears on trees gathering and eating the fruit. When they wish to come down, then they place their heads between their legs, and let themselves fall to the earth; and whether they fall high or low, they spring up and go their way. Bears are sometimes shot when on the trees.

The Indians and the Christians are firmly of opinion that the bears sleep and lay concealed twelve weeks in succession in a year. In the fall they always are fat. During the winter they eat nothing, but lie down on one side with a foot in the mouth, whereon they suck growling six weeks; they then turn on the other side and lay six weeks more, and continue to suck as before. For this purpose they usually retire to the mountains, and seek shelter under projecting rocks in a burrow, or in a thick brushy wood, wherein many large trees have fallen, where they also seek shelter from the wind, snow and rain. The Indians say that the greatest number of bears are taken during their sleeping season, when they are most easily killed. The heaviest bears which are taken, (judging from their skins,) are about the size of a common heifer. The animals also are very fat, as before stated, the pork frequently being six or seven fingers in thickness. The Indians esteem the fore quarters and the plucks as excellent food. I have never tasted the meat, but several Christians who have eaten bear's flesh, say it is as good as any swine's flesh or pork can be.

Buffaloes are also tolerably plenty. These animals mostly keep towards the southwest, where few people go. Their meat is excellent, and more desirable than the flesh of the deer, although it is much coarser. Their skins when dressed are heavy enough for collars and harness. These animals are not very wild, and some persons are of opinion that they may be domesticated and tamed. It is also supposed that a female buffalo, put to a Holland bull, would produce a cross breed which would give excellent milking cattle, and that the males

would form fine hardy working animals when castrated. Persons who have got them when young, say they become very tame as they grow older, and forget the wild woods, and that they fatten well. It is remarked that the half of those animals have disappeared and left the country, and that if a cross breed succeeded, it would become more natural to the climate.

The deer are incredibly numerous in the country. Although the Indians throughout the year and every year, (but mostly in the fall,) kill many thousands, and the wolves, after the fawns are cast, and while they are young, also destroy many, still the land abounds with them everywhere, and their numbers appear to remain undiminished. We seldom pass through the fields without seeing deer more or less, and we frequently see them in flocks. Their meat digests easily, and is good food. Venison is so easily obtained that a good buck cashes for five guilders, and often for much less.

There are also white bucks and does, and others of a black colour in the country. The Indians aver that the haunts of the white deer are much frequented by the common deer, and that those of the black species are not frequented by the common deer. These are the sayings of the Indians. The truth remains to be ascertained relating to the preference between the animals.

There is also another kind of animals in the country, which are represented to be large, and which are known to the people of Canada, who relate strange things concerning the same. I have heard from the mouth of a Jesuit, who had been taken prisoner by the Mohawk Indians and released by our people, and come to me, that there were many wild forest oxen in Canada and *Nova Francia*, which in Latin they name *boves silvestres*, (the moose, or elk,) which are as large as horses, having long hair on their necks like the mane of a horse, and cloven hoofs; but that, like the buffalo, the animals were not fierce. I have also been frequently told by the Mohawk Indians, that far in the interior parts of the country, there were animals which were seldom seen, of the size and form of horses, with cloven hoofs, having one horn in the forehead, from a foot and a half to two feet in length, and that because of their fleetness and strength they were seldom caught or ensnared. I have never seen any certain token or sign of such animals, but that such creatures exist in the country, is supported by the concurrent declarations of the Indian hunters. There are Christians who say that they have seen the skins of this species of animal, but without the horns.

Wolves are numerous in the country, but these are not so large and ravenous as the Netherlands wolves are. They will not readily attack any thing, except small animals, such as deer,

(but most commonly when young,) calves, sheep, goats, and hogs. But when a drove of hogs are together, they do not permit the wolves to do them any injury, as those animals defend and assist each other.

The wolves in winter know how to beset and take deer. When the snow is upon the earth, eight or ten wolves, hunter-like, prowl in the chase in company. Sometimes a single wolf will chase and follow a single deer, until the animal is wearied, and falls a prey; but if the deer in the pursuit crosses a stream of water, then the wolf is done, because he dare not follow, and remains on the margin of the stream to see his chase escape. Wolves frequently drive deer into the rivers and streams. Many are taken in the water by persons who reside in the neighbourhood of rivers and streams, by the means of boats, with which they pursue the animals. If the deer is so near the shore as to be likely to gain the land before the boat can be near enough to take the prize, the person or persons in the boat shout and holloa loudly, when the echo from the land and woods frightens the animal off from the place to which it was swimming, and fearing to land it is easily taken by these stratagems.

Some persons are of opinion, that a driven deer will not betake itself to fresh water for safety, but we of the New Netherlands know to the contrary, and that there is no difference. When deer are chased upon an island near the sea, or on land near the sea, they will enter the open ocean, and frequently swim so far from shore that they never find their way to the land again.

Beavers are numerous in the New-Netherlands. We will treat at large of these animals hereafter. There are also fine otters in the country, very fine fishes, and wild cats, which have skins nearly resembling the skin of the lioness;—these animals also resemble them in form, but they have short tails, like the hares and conies. Foxes and racoons are plenty;—the skins of the latter are streaked, resembling seals, and are excellent applications for bruises and lameness. When their meat is roasted, it is delicious food, but when stewed, it is too luscious, on account of its fatness. The racoons usually shelter in hollow trees, wherein they lay up food for the winter, which they seldom leave, except for drink. It is a pleasure to take racoons; the trees wherein they shelter are discovered by the scratching of the bark, which is done by the racoons in climbing and descending the trees. When their haunts are discovered, the trees are cut down. By the fall of a tree, the racoons are stunned, and on leaving their holes they stagger as if drunk, and fall an easy prey to the hunter. Minks, hares, and conies (rabbits) are plenty in the country. Tame rabbits

run at large in New England. Musk-rats are abundant ; these creatures smell so strong of musk, that it can hardly be endured : when the skins are old and dry, the smell is retained, and all articles which are kept with the skins, are impregnated with the musky smell. *Maeters*, and black and gray squirrels, are also numerous. One kind of squirrels can fly several rods at a time ;—this species have a thin skin on both sides from the fore to the hind legs, which they extend and flap like wings, with which they fly swiftly to the desired place. Ground hogs, English skunks, drummers, and several other kinds of animals, for which we have no names, are known and found in the country. Their description is passed over.

Of the Land and Water Fowls ; and first, of the Birds of prey.

Birds of prey are numerous in the New-Netherlands ; among which there are two species of eagles, so different in appearance that they hardly resemble each other. The one is the common kind, which is known in Holland. The other kind is somewhat larger, and the feathers are much browner, except the whole head, a part of the neck, the whole tail, and the striking feathers, which are as white as snow, and render the bird beautiful. This kind are called white-heads, and they are plenty. Falcons, sparrow-hawks, sailing-hawks, castrills, church-hawks, fish-hawks, and several other kinds, for which I have no name, are plenty ; but every kind feed on flesh or fish, as they can best take the same. Those hawks might easily be trained to catch game, to which nature with art would perfect them. The small kind live on small birds, the larger kinds watch for woodpeckers, corn-birds, quails, &c. ; each that kind which it can overcome. But the eagles look for higher game, and bring terror where they appear. They usually frequent places where the trees are old, and where the ground is free from underwood, near the bay sides, or near large rivers, where from the tops of the trees they can have their eyes over the fish, the swans, the geese and the ducks, with which they can supply themselves ; but they do not commonly feed on fowl, because they prefer fish. They frequently strike a fish, and jerk it living from the waters. When a bird is crippled by a gunner, or is otherwise disabled, then the eagle's eye will see them, where the human eyes have looked in vain. The eagles soar very high in the air, beyond the vision of man, and on those flights they are always looking out for prey, or for a dead carcase, near which they are commonly seen. They seldom kill corn birds, or fowls which live

on fruit. Eagles are fond of the flesh of deer, for which they watch the places where the wolves kill deer, and have left a carcase partly eaten, which they discover on the wing. Many persons who know the nature of the eagle, and observe their sailing, have followed in their direction and have found the deer for which the eagle went, partly destroyed and eaten by wolves. It also happens that the hunters wound deer which escape, and die from the loss of blood. Such are also sometimes found uninjured by the direction of the eagles. There is also another bird of prey in the country, which has a head like the head of a large cat. Its feathers are of a light ash colour. The people of the country have no name for the bird. The Director Kieft says, the bird is known in France, and is named *Grand Dux*, where it is held in high estimation by the nobility, who have them trained for sporting. They are difficult to break, but when well trained they are frequently sold for 100 French crowns per bird.*

Of the Land Birds and Fowls.

The most important fowl of the country is the wild turkey. They resemble the tame turkeys of the Netherlands. Those birds are common in the woods all over the country, and are found in large flocks, from twenty to forty in a flock. They are large, heavy, fat and fine, weighing from twenty to thirty pounds each, and I have heard of one that weighed thirty-two pounds. When they are well cleaned and roasted on a spit, then they are excellent, and differ little in taste from the tame turkeys; but the epicures prefer the wild kind. They are best in the fall of the year, when the Indians will usually sell a turkey for ten stivers, and with the Christians the common price is a daelder each. Sometimes the turkeys are caught with dogs in the snow; but the greatest number are shot at night from the trees. The turkeys sleep in trees, and frequently in large flocks together. They also usually sleep in the same place every night. When a sleeping place is discovered, then two or three gunners go to the place together at night, when they shoot the fowls, and in such cases frequently bring in a dozen or more. The Indians take many in snares, when the weather changes in winter. Then they lay bulbous roots, which the turkeys are fond of, in the small rills and streams of water, which the birds take up, when they are ensnared and held until the artful Indian takes the turkey as his prize.

There are also several kinds of quail† in the country, some

* A good price for a *Cat-Owl*.—TRANS. † The Dutch word is *patrijsen*—the European partridge, which is about the size of our quail.—ED.

of which are smaller, and others larger than those of the Netherlands. The sportsmen have given them distinguishing names, and they afford fine sport. In the Netherlands it is not believed that they will alight and sit in trees; but it is true that many are shot from trees in this country. I have done it several times, and have killed a hundred or more from trees. I have also heard from respectable authority, that eleven heath-fowls have been killed at a shot at Rensselaerwyck, off of a palisade fence, with which fields are enclosed. In some places, in the hedges and brush, the small quails are abundant, and they are so tame that they run along the roads and enter the gardens, and sometimes fly into houses; and they frequently lay in the grass, as it were under the traveller's feet, and in rising sometimes fly against them and frighten them. Many of those kinds of birds are killed with rods and sticks. There are also woodcocks, birch-cocks, heath-fowls, pheasants, wood and water snipes, &c. and many cranes, of which great numbers are shot on the mowed lands in the fall of the year, and they are fine for the table. Quacks and bitterns are also plenty. The pigeons, which resemble coal pigeons, are astonishingly plenty. Those are most numerous in the spring and fall of the year, when they are seen in such numbers in flocks, that they resemble the clouds in the heavens, and obstruct the rays of the sun. Many of those birds are shot in the spring and fall, on the wing, and from the dry trees whereon they prefer to alight, and will sit in great numbers to see around them, from which they are easily shot. Many are also shot on the ground, and it is not uncommon to kill twenty-five or more at a time. The Indians, when they find the breeding places of the pigeons, (at which they assemble in numberless thousands,) frequently remove to those places with their wives and children, to the number of two or three hundred in a company, where they live a month or more on the young pigeons, which they take, after pushing them from their nests with poles and sticks.

There are also quails, (*quartels*,) differing from those in the Netherlands in their drumming, and somewhat in size.* Woodpeckers (*spechten*) are also found there; these birds are spotted with handsome feathers, and have a fine top-knot. The country people call them tree-peckers, which is their common employment, and they peck with such power, that at a distance the noise resembles the striking of a hammer. I have seen many trees into which those birds had pecked large holes, wherein they built their nests. Large blackbirds also are very plenty, to which the people have given an appropriate name, calling them (*maies dieven*) corn thieves, to which they have a

* The drumming noise is made by the partridge of the eastern States—the pheasant of the south, (*Tetrao umbellus*,) which is probably the bird here referred to.—ED.

strong propensity. It is necessary after planting, to watch the corn fields to keep off those birds, whereon they frequently alight in large flocks, and are so stout that shooting will not drive them away. In places frequented by eagles, the black-birds do very little injury. I have been informed by men of veracity, that a certain *Jacob Van Curler* had killed one hundred and seventy of those blackbirds, which he took up, at a shot, besides the cripples which escaped. From this occurrence an opinion of the probable numbers of those birds may be formed. There are also ravens, crows, kaws, owls, swallows, land-runners, with many other kinds of small birds, such as finches, chipping birds, wrens, hedge-sparrows, &c. Some of the birds sing beautifully; others have handsome plumage. I have seen birds of a lustrous blue colour, shining much; others of a yellow and orange, resembling the aurora, with a high flame colour; but those have black beaks, and some black wing feathers.

There is also another small curious bird, concerning which there are disputations, whether it is a *bird*, or a large West India *bee*. We will pass over those disputations, and describe the bird, its form, manner and appearance. The bird is about the length of a finger, exclusive of its beak; its tail is about the breadth of a thumb; its feathers are of various shining colours; having a beak and feet like other birds. I have not observed that it pecks and eats with its beak; but it sucks its nourishment from flowers like the bees, for which it has members in its beak like the bees. It is everywhere seen on the flowers regaling itself; hence it has obtained the name of the West India bee. It is only seen in the New-Netherlands in the season of flowers. In flying they also make a humming noise, like the bees. They are very tender, and cannot well be kept alive. We however prepare and preserve them between paper, and dry them in the sun, and send them as presents to our friends.

Of the Water Fowls.

Among other subjects wherewith the New-Netherlands is abundantly provided, are the fowls that keep to the waters, which we find there principally in the spring and fall of the year. At other seasons they are not as plenty. But at those seasons, the waters by their movements appears to be alive with the water fowls; and the people who reside near the water are frequently disturbed in their rest at night by the noise of the water fowls, particularly by the swans, which in their seasons are so plenty, that the bays and shores where they resort appear as if they were dressed in white drapery. The swans

are like those of the Netherlands, and come regularly in their proper seasons.

There are also three kinds of wild geese. The first and best kind are the grey geese, which are larger than the Netherlands geese, but not so large as the swans. Those fowls do much damage to the wheat fields which are sown near the places to which they resort. There are persons who believe this species to be the trap geese; but this cannot well be credited, because they are so numerous. A great many of those fowls are shot, and they are esteemed before the other kinds for the table. I have known a gunner named *Henry de Backer*, who killed eleven grey geese out of a large flock at one shot from his gun.

The other kinds are the black geese, and the white heads. Some of the latter kind are almost white, like unto our tame geese. Those kinds, in cold weather, frequent and resort to places near the sea shores in great numbers, where many are killed, often eight or ten at one shot. A Virginia planter of my acquaintance has killed sixteen geese at a shot, which he got, when several which he wounded escaped.

There also are several kinds of ducks, with widgeons, teal, brant, and many species of diving fowls, such as blue bills, whistlers, coots, eel-shovellers, and pelicans, with many strange fowls, for which we have no names, being of less importance; but which to persons who understand the art of preserving birds, might afford them a profitable business, as they are plenty and cheap. After the increase of our population, the fowls will diminish. Even feathers are now considered of little value or importance.*

Of the Fishes.

All the waters of the New-Netherlands are rich with fishes. Sturgeons are plenty in the rivers at their proper season; but these fish are not esteemed, and when large are not eaten. No person takes the trouble to salt or souce them for profit; and the roes from which the costly *caviar* is prepared, are cast away. Salmon are plenty in some rivers, and the striped bass are plenty in all the rivers and bays of the sea. The bass is a fish which in its form differs but little from the salmon. The inside of the latter is red, and of the other white. The bass are also a fine fish, and their heads are delicious food. The drums are a tolerably good fish, somewhat like the cod in form, but not so stout. I have heard it said, that the drums were named

* The swans, the pelicans, the grey and white-headed geese, and the grey ducks, have now forsaken the waters of the State of New-York.—TRANS.

Thirteens, when the Christians first began fishing in the New-Netherlands. Then every one was desirous to see the fishes which were caught, for the purpose of discovering whether the same were known to them, and if they did not know the fish, then they gave it a name. First in the fishing season they caught many shad, which they named *Elft*. Later they caught the striped bass, which they named *Twalfst*. Later still they caught the drums, which they named *Dertienen*. For those fishes succeeded each other in their seasons, and the same are still known by the names which were thus derived. There are also carp, snook, forrels, pike, trout, suckers, thickheads, flounders, eels, palings, brickens and lampreys. Some of the latter are as large as a man's leg, and above an ell in length.* There are also sun-fish tasted like the perch, having small shining scales, with brilliant spots, from which they have derived the name of sun-fish. In the winter season, the creeks and back waters abound with a small kind of fish which comes from the sea, about the size of a smelt. Some call them little mullets. Those fishes are so tame that many are caught with the hand; and as those come with the frost, we call them frost-fish. Outside at sea, and in some of the bays of the East river, the cod-fish are very plenty; and if we would practice our art and experience in fishing, we could take ship loads of cod-fish, for it can be easily accomplished. There are also shell-fish, week-fish, herrings, mackerel, roach, halibut, scoll, and sheeps-heads. The latter are formed like the sun-fish, but much heavier, with cross stripes, being about the weight of the largest carps. They have teeth in the fore part of the mouth like a sheep, but are not voracious, and are an excellent fish. There is another species of fish, called black-fish, which are held in high estimation by the Christians. It is as brown as a *seek*, formed like the carp, but not so coarse in its scales. When this kind of fish, which are plenty, is served upon the table, it goes before all others, for every person prefers it. There are also porpoises, herring-hogs, pot-heads or sharks, turtles, &c. and whales, of which there are none caught, but if preparations were made for the purpose, then it might be easily effected; but our colonists have not advanced far enough to pursue whaling. A lost bird, however, is frequently cast and stranded, which is cut up. Lobsters are plenty in many places. Some of those are very large, being from five to six feet in length; others again are from a foot to a foot and an half long, which are the best for the table. There are also crabs, like those of the Netherlands,

* There is a tradition that there were but ten species of fishes known to the Dutch when they discovered America, and that when they caught the shad, they named the fish (*Elft*) Eleventh; the bass (*Twalfst*) Twelfth; and the drum (*Dertienen*) Thirteenth. The numbers in the Dutch are good names.—TRANS.

some of which are altogether soft. Those the people call weak crabs, and they make excellent bait for hook fishing. There are also sea-cocks, (horned crabs) sea-colts, sea-concks; and periwinkles are very plenty, which in some seasons are cast ashore by the sea in very great numbers. From these the Indians make wampum. Oysters are very plenty in many places. Some of these are like the Colchester oysters, and are fit to be eaten raw; others are very large, wherein pearls are frequently found, but as they are of a brownish colour, they are not valuable. The large oysters are proper for roasting and stewing. Each of these will fill a spoon, and make a good bite. I have seen many in the shell a foot long, and broad in proportion. The price for oysters is usually from eight to ten stivers per hundred. Muscles of different kinds are plenty; the St. Jacobs and mother of pearl shells, with Alis or stone crutches. There are also several other kinds of shell-fish, for which there are no names. There are also shrimps and tortoises in the waters and on land. Some persons prepare delicious dishes from the water terrapin, which is luscious food. There are also sea-spiders, and various other products of the ocean, which are unknown in Holland, and are of little consideration, as they contribute little to the wants of human society.

Of the Poisons.

During my residence of eight or nine years in the New-Netherlands, I have not discovered more than one poisonous plant in the country, which is named the *poison artichoke*, although it does not resemble the artichoke much, as it bears blue flowers in clusters, which are handsome to the eye, resembling pope's caps, or moon-heads, as they are named in Brabant.

Several kinds of black, speckled and striped snakes are found in the country. Some of these have bellies of the colour of the rainbow, and keep on the land and in the water, and are said to have connections with the eels. Snakes of those kinds do no damage except destroying young birds. Unless they escape from travellers and farmers, they are usually put to death. The Indians do not fear snakes of this kind, for they will run after and take them by their tails, and then take hold of them behind their heads and bite them in their necks; thus they kill them. There is also another snake about the size of a tobacco pipe. This kind of snake keeps in the weeds and high grass, and is seldom seen. Many are of opinion that it is venomous, but I have no proof of it. Rattlesnakes like those of Brazil, are found in the country. To persons who have never seen any of those reptiles, a description of them will ne-

cessarily be imperfect. Many affirm that the fiery serpents which plagued the Israelites in the wilderness, were rattlesnakes; but this is uncertain. Those are vile serpents, which seldom go out of the way of man or beast. They are speckled with yellow, black and purple colours, chub-headed, with four sharp teeth in the front of the mouth, which the Indians use for lancets. The body, except the tail, is fashioned like the bodies of other snakes; at the end of the tail it has a hard, dry, horny substance, which is interlocked and jointed together, with which these snakes can rattle so loud that the noise can be heard several rods; but they never rattle unless they intend to bite. The rattling is made by the thrilling of the tail, to the end of which the rattles are by nature attached. The rattles increase one joint every year. Snakes with six or seven rattles are very common, and I have seen one with fourteen rattles (which is an uncommon instance). When those snakes intend to bite, they have a dreadful appearance. The head is then spread out, and they open a wider mouth than they appear to have, and then also they open a bluish skin or valve, which lies at the root of the teeth of the upper jaw, from which the poison issues by the teeth into the wound inflicted by the serpent. In appearance the poison resembles a bluish salt, which I have seen by causing the snake to bite at a long stick for observation, on Long Island. When persons are bitten by those serpents and the poison enters the wound, their lives are in great danger. I have seen persons who were bitten by the serpents that were not bad, and others whose whole bodies became coloured like the snakes by which they had been bitten, before death. The Indians also dread those snakes, and when bitten by this species they also frequently die of the bite. Fortunately the rattlesnakes are not numerous, and a person who does not frequent the woods and fields much, may reside in the country seven years without seeing one of those snakes. There is a certain plant which grows in the country, named snake-wort, which is a sovereign remedy for the bite of the rattlesnake. I have witnessed an experiment made on Long-Island with snake-wort, on a large rattlesnake, when a person chewed a quantity of the green plant, and spit some of the juice on the end of a stick, which was put to the nose of the snake, and it caused the creature to thrill and die instantly. The Indians hold this plant in such high estimation, that many of them always carry some of it, well dried, with them to cure the bites of those serpents. Adders also are found in the country, but I have never heard of injuries done by them.

Lizards like those found in Holland are in the country, and also another species which have pale bluish tails. Those are much feared by the Indians, because (as they say) this kind

will crawl up into their fundaments, when they lay asleep on the ground in the woods, and cause them to die in great misery. When the toads are added, I have given an account of the poison and of the poisonous reptiles which I have discovered in the country, and according to my original design, hereafter will treat of the winds, air, sea, seasons, and of the natives of the land; and also give a particular description of the beavers.

Of the Winds.

The swift and fostering messengers of commerce are the winds that prevail in the New-Netherlands. They blow from all quarters of the compass, without any monsoons or regular trade winds. In winter, the cold comes with the northerly winds; in summer, the south and south-westerly winds prevail. It is seldom calm in winter, as it is in Holland. In the heart of winter, when it is calm, *loof still*, and cold, turn either way, and you have it in your face. The north-west winds which bring the most cold weather usually blow sharp and steady, except at the foot of the mountains, which break the winds. All the storms which arise, usually come with easterly winds from the sea, at the spring tides, and seldom last more than three days. If they come more from the south, then it usually blows hard, and with more warmth, and a hazy sky or rain, which frequently happens. The westerly wind usually blows severe and squally, but as it comes from the land, and blows across most of the rivers to the sea, it gives windward stations and is not feared. The north-west and north winds bring the cold, as the east and north-east winds do in Holland. Should it be warm southerly weather, whenever a northerner rises, the air will change from heat to cold in a short time. On these occasions it will blow hard and severe, but as it leaves an upper shore, it seldom does damage at sea. The sea then washes against a windward shore; hence no damage is apprehended. The damage arises from the easterly winds. When the north-west gales blow, then much damage is done in the timber lands, by the blowing down and cracking of the trees, and then is the proper time for the gunners to approach their game. In summer, a southerly sea breeze usually sets in on the flood-tide at New-Amsterdam, which blows over a cool element, and brings refreshment with it. The warm weather in summer frequently brings thunder storms from the west, when it will frequently rain one, two or three hours, after which it will blow from the north-west, and be succeeded by fine cool weather: so that within an hour the clouds will appear as if they would spew cats, and in another

hour scarcely a cloud will be seen. The easterly winds seldom blow in the interior parts of the country, sometimes not once in a year: those winds appear to be stayed by the highlands and the mountains.

Of the Air.

The sweet ruler that influences the wisdom, power and appearance of man, of animals, and of plants, is the air. Many name it the temperament, or the climate. The air in the New-Netherlands is so dry, sweet and healthy, that we need not wish that it were otherwise. In purity, agreeableness, and fineness, it would be folly to seek for an example of it in any other country. In the New-Netherlands, we seldom hear of any person who is afflicted with a pining disease. Many persons from the West-Indies, Virginia, and other quarters of the world, who do not enjoy health in those parts, when they come into the New-Netherlands, there become as active as fishes in the waters. The *Galens* have meagre soup in that country. We may say that there are no heavy damps or stinking mists in the country, and if any did arise, a northerly breeze would blow them away, and purify the air. Hence the healthiness of the country deserves commendation. The summer heat is not oppressive in the warmest weather, for it is mitigated by the sea breezes, the northerly winds, and by showers. The cold is severer than the latitude seems to promise, which arises from the purity of the air, which is sensitive and penetrating, but always dry with northerly winds, against which nature directs us to provide, and to clothe ourselves properly. Cold damp weather seldom arises. Such weather is caused by southerly winds; and whenever the wind blows from the south in winter, the cold ceases. If the south wind rises in the middle of winter, which frequently occurs, and blows some time, then the weather becomes as warm as in Lent, and the ice gives way. The country is seldom troubled with much moist damp weather, nor does it last long. Still there is plenty of rain, but more in some seasons than in others. When it rains the water falls freely, which extends to the roots of the vegetation. By the thunder and lightning, which is common in the warm weather, the air is purified, and the state of the atmosphere corrected. This is regulated by the seasons, and adherent to particular seasons of the year.

Of the Seasons.

The changes of the year, and the calculations of time, are observed as in the Netherlands ; and although these countries differ much in their situations in south latitude, still they do not differ much in the temperature of cold and heat. But to discriminate more accurately, it should be remarked that the winters usually terminate with the month of February, at New-Amsterdam, which is the chief place and centre of the New-Netherlands. Then the spring or Lent-like weather begins. Some persons calculate from the 21st of March, new style, after which it seldom freezes, nor before this does it seldom summer ; but at this season a change evidently begins. The fishes then leave the bottom ground, the buds begin to swell ; the grass sprouts, and in some places the cattle are put to grass in March ; in other situations they wait later, as the situations and soils vary. The horses and working cattle are not turned out to grass until May, when the grass is plenty everywhere. April is the proper month for gardening. Later the farmers should not sow summer grain, unless they are not ready ; it may be done later, and still ripen.

Easterly winds and stormy weather are common in the spring, which then cause high tides ; but they cannot produce high floods. The persons who desire to explore and view the country, have the best opportunity in April and May. The grass and herbage at this season causes no inconvenience in the woods, and still there is grass enough for horses. The cold has not overcome the heat produced by the wood burnings, and the ground which has been burnt over, is yet bare enough for inspection. The flowers are then in bloom, and the woods are fragrant with their perfume. In the middle of May, strawberries are always plenty in the fields, where they grow naturally ; they are seldom planted in the gardens, but there, in warm situations, they are earlier. When the warm weather sets in, then vegetation springs rapidly. It is so rapid as to change the fields from nakedness to green in eight or ten days. There are no frosts in May, or they are very uncommon, as then it is summer. The winter grain is in full blossom. The summer may be said to begin in May, but it really is calculated from the first of June, and then the weather is frequently very warm, and there is seldom much rain. Still there are no extremes of wet and dry weather, and we may freely say, that the summers are always better in the New-Netherlands than in Holland. Rainy weather seldom lasts long. Showers and thunder-storms are frequent in summer, and will last an hour, an hour and a half, and sometimes half a day. It seldom rains three hours in succession, and the

rains seldom do any injury, because the earth is open, and the water settles away, and on the high lands the rains are always desirable. A summer shower frequently will produce water sufficient to extend to the roots of the vegetation, and be immediately succeeded by a north-west wind, which will clear off the sky, as if no rain had fallen. Heavy dews are common, which in the dry seasons, are very quickening to the vegetation.

Now when the summer progresses finely, the land rewards the labor of the husbandman; the flowers smile on his countenance; the fishes sport in their element, and the herds play in the fields, as if no reverses were to return. But the tobacco, and the fruit of the vines, come in in September. There is plenty here for man and the animal creation.

The days are not so long in summer, nor so short in winter, as they are in Holland. Their length in summer, and their shortness in winter, differ about an hour and a half. It is found that this difference in the length of the days, causes no inconvenience; the days in summer are long and warm enough for those who are inclined to labour, and do it from necessity; and for those who seek diversion. The winters pass by without becoming tedious. The reasons for this, and the objections thereto, we leave to the learned, as we deem the subject not worthy of our inquiry. The received opinion on this subject is, that the difference in the length of the days and nights arises from the difference of latitude of the New-Netherlands and Holland. The former lies nearer the equinoctial line, and nearer the centre of the globe. As they differ in length, so also they differ in twilight. When it is midday in Holland, it is morning in the New-Netherlands. On this subject there are also different opinions. Most men say that the New-Netherlands lay so much farther to the west, that its situation causes this variation; others go further, and dispute the roundness of the globe. As the creation of the world is connected with this subject, which none will deny, and as the difference in the appearance of the eclipses supports the truth of the first position of the roundness of the globe, therefore the other position appears to be unsupported.

The autumns in the New-Netherlands are very fine, lovely and agreeable; more delightful cannot be found on the earth; not only because the summer productions are gathered, and the earth is then yielding its surplusage, but also because the season is so well tempered with heat and cold, as to appear like the month of May, except that on some mornings there will be frost, which, by ten o'clock will be removed by the ascending sun, leaving no stench or unwholesome air, and causing little inconvenience. On the other hand, the vegetation and grass produced in summer falls, and is trodden down, which is succeeded by a fall crop, growing as it does in Lent, bringing de-

light to man and pasturage for animals. There is not much rain in autumn except in showers, which do not last long; yet it sometimes rains two or three days. Otherwise there is day after day, fine weather and a clear sunshine, with agreeable weather. In short the autumns in the New-Netherlands are as fine as the summers of Holland, and continue very long; for below the highlands, towards the sea coast, the winter does not set in, or freeze much before Christmas, the waters remaining open, the weather fine, and in many places the cattle grazing in the fields. Above the highlands, advancing northerly, the weather is colder, the fresh waters freeze, the stock is sheltered, the kitchens are provided, and all things are put in order for the winter. The fat oxen and swine are slaughtered. The wild geese, turkeys and deer are at their best in this season, and easiest obtained, because of the cold, and because the woods are now burnt over, and the brushwood and herbage out of the way. This is also the Indian hunting season, wherein such great numbers of deer are killed, that a person who is uninformed of the vast extent of the country, would imagine that all these animals would be destroyed in a short time. But the country is so extensive, and their subsistence so abundant, and the hunting being confined mostly to certain districts, therefore no diminution of the deer is observable. The Indians also affirm, that before the arrival of the Christians, and before the small pox broke out amongst them, they were ten times as numerous as they now are, and that their population had been melted down by this disease, whereof nine-tenths of them have died. That then, before the arrival of the Christians, many more deer were killed than there now are, without any perceptible decrease of their numbers.

We will now notice the winters of the New-Netherlands, which are different at different places. Above the highlands, towards Rensselaerwyck, and in the interior places extending towards New-England, (which we still claim,) there the winters are colder and last longer than at New-Amsterdam, and other places along the sea coast, or on Long Island, and on the South River, (Delaware.) At the latter places, there seldom is any hard freezing weather before Christmas, and although there may be some cold nights, and trifling snows, still it does not amount to much, for during the day it is usually clear weather. But at Rensselaerwyck the winters begin earlier, as in 1645, when the North River closed on the 25th day of November, and remained frozen very late. Below the highlands and near the sea coast, as has been observed, it never begins to freeze so early, but the cold weather usually keeps off until about Christmas, and frequently later, before the rivers are closed; and then they frequently are so full of drifting ice during the north-west

winds, as to obstruct the navigation; and whenever the wind shifts to the south or south-east, the ice decays, and the rivers are open and clear. This frequently happens two or three times in a winter, when the navigation will be free and unobstructed again. Much rainy weather, or strong winds which continue to blow from one quarter a long time, are not common, or to be expected in the country.

It is probable, (and many persons support the position with plausible reasoning,) that the subtlety and purity of the atmosphere changes the water before it comes to the earth, or whilst it is still retained in the clouds, or in its descent to the earth, into hail or snow. The latter is sooner to be credited, for during the winter much snow falls, which frequently remains weeks and months on the earth, without thawing away entirely. But below the circle of the highlands, the southerly winds are powerful; there the snow cannot lay long, but is removed by the southerly weather.

It frequently happens once or twice in a winter, that the trees are silvered over with sleet, which produces a beautiful and speculative appearance when the sun shines on the same, particularly on the declivities of the hills and mountains. Many persons say that sleets and heavy hail are signs of good fruit seasons in the succeeding year.

It is strange and worthy of observation, and surpasses all reasoning, that in the New-Netherlands, without or with but little wind, (for when the weather is coldest, there seldom is much wind,) although it lies in the latitude of Spain and Italy, and the summer heat is similar, that the winters should be so much colder, as to render useless all the plants and herbs which grow in those countries, which will not endure the cold weather. The winter weather is dry and cold, and we find that the peltries and feltings are prior and better than the furs of Muscovy. For this difference several reasons are assigned, which we will relate, without controverting any, except in remarking that in most cases wherein many different reasons are assigned to establish a subject, all are frequently discredited. Some say that the New-Netherlands lie so much further west on the globe, and that this causes the difference; others who compare the summer heat with Spain and Italy, deny this position; others declare that the globe is not round, and that the country lies in a declining position from the sun. Others assert that the last discovered quarter of the world is larger than the other parts, and ask, if the world formerly was considered round, how that theory can be supported now, when about one-half is added to it? Some also say that the higher a country is situated, the colder it is. Now, say they, the New-Netherlands lie in a high westerly position; *ergo*, it must be cold there in winter,

and as warm in summer. Many remark, and with much plausibility also, that the country extends northerly many hundred miles to the frozen ocean, and is accessible by Davis Straits, (which by some is doubted,) and that the land is intersected and studded by high mountains, and that the snow remains lying on them and in the valleys, and seldom thaws away entirely; and that when the wind blows from and over those cold regions, it brings cold with it. Receiving the cold from above and from beneath, (both being cold,) it must of course follow that the cold comes with the north-westerly winds. On the contrary they say, that whenever the wind blows from the sea, if it be in the heat of the winter, then the weather becomes sultry and warm as in Lent.

The cold weather, however, is not so severe as to do much injury, or to become tedious; but for many reasons it is desirable for the benefit of the country, which it frees from insects and every other kind of impurity in the air, and fastens firmly in their positions all the plants, and screens the same from the effects of the cold, against which nature has thus carefully provided.

There is everywhere fuel in abundance, and to be obtained for the expense of cutting and procuring the same. The superabundance of this country is not equalled by any other in the world. The Indians do not clothe as we do, but frequently go half naked and withstand the cold, in fashion, and fear it little. They are never overcome with the cold, or injured by it. In bitter cold weather, they will not pursue their customary pleasures, particularly the women and the children; for the men do not care so much for the cold days in winter as they do for the hot days in summer.

*Of the products of Kitchen Gardens.**

The garden products in the New-Netherlands are very numerous; some of them have been known to the natives from the earliest times, and others introduced from different parts of the world, but chiefly from the Netherlands. We shall speak of them only in a general way; *amateurs* would be able to describe their agreeable qualities in a more scientific manner,

* The omission of this chapter by the Translator was discovered too late for its insertion in the proper place, (page 155,) and the absence of Mr. Johnson in attendance upon the State Legislature, of which he is a member, has rendered it necessary for the Editor to supply the omission by translating the chapter, and inserting it out of its original connexion.

but having been necessarily occupied with other subjects, we have had no leisure to devote to them. They consist, then, of various kinds of salads, cabbages, parsnips, carrots, beets, endive, succory, finckel, sorrel, dill, spinage, radishes, Spanish radishes, parsley, chervil, (or sweet cicely,) cresses, onions, leeks, and besides whatever is commonly found in a kitchen garden. The herb garden is also tolerably well supplied with rosemary, lavender, hyssop, thyme, sage, marjoram, balm, holy onions, (*ajuin heylig*,) wormwood, belury, chives, and clary; also, pimpernel, dragon's blood, five-finger, tarragon, (or dragons-wort,) &c. together with laurel, artichokes, and asparagus, and various other things on which I have bestowed no attention.

The inquirers into nature inform us that plants are there less succulent, and therefore more vigorous than here. I have also noticed that they require less care and attention, and grow equally well; as for instance, the pumpkin grows with little or no cultivation, and is so sweet and dry that it is used, with the addition of vinegar and water, for stewing in the same manner as apples; and notwithstanding that it is here generally despised as a mean and unsubstantial article of food, it is there of so good a quality that our countrymen hold it in high estimation. I have heard it said, too, that when properly prepared as apples are with us, it is not inferior to them, or there is but little difference, and when the pumpkin is baked in ovens it is considered better than apples. The English, who in general think much of what gratifies the palate, use it also in pastry,* and understand making a beverage from it. I do not mean all sorts of pumpkins and cucurbites that may be found anywhere, and of course in the New-Netherlands; the Spanish is considered the best.†

The natives have another species of this vegetable peculiar to themselves, called by our people *quaasiens*, a name derived from the aborigines, as the plant was not known to us before our intercourse with them.‡ It is a delightful fruit, as well to the eye on account of its fine variety of colours, as to the mouth for its agreeable taste. The ease with which it is cooked ren-

* By the English the author means the inhabitants of New-England, where pumpkin pies still hold a prominent place among the luxuries of the land.—Ed.

† The Spanish or mammoth pumpkin is still preferred. See *Bridgeman's Gardener*. New-York, 1840.

‡ Roger Williams, the celebrated founder of the colony of Rhode Island, describes the same plant in the following manner:—"Askutasquash, their vine-apples, which the English from them call squashes; about the bigness of apples, of several colours, a sweet, light, wholesome refreshing."—*Key into the Languages of the Indians*. London, 1643. Reprinted in *Collections of Mass. Hist. Society*, 1st series vol. iii. Dr. Webster, in his quarto Dictionary, derives the name of this vegetable from a Greek root.—Ed.

ders it a favourite too with the young women. It is gathered early in summer, and when it is planted in the middle of April, the fruit is fit for eating by the first of June. They do not wait for it to ripen before making use of the fruit, but only until it has attained a certain size. They gather the squashes and immediately place them on the fire without any farther trouble. When a considerable number have been gathered, they keep them for three or four days; and it is incredible, when one watches the vines, how many will grow on them in the course of a single season. The vines run a little along the ground, some of them only two or three steps; they grow well in newly broken wood-land when it is somewhat cleared and the weeds are removed. The natives make great account of this vegetable; some of the Netherlands too consider it quite good, but others do not esteem it very highly. It grows rapidly, is easily cooked, and digests well in the stomach, and its flavour and nutritive properties are respectable.

Melons, likewise, grow in the New-Netherlands very luxuriantly, without requiring the land to be prepared or manured; there is no necessity for lopping the vines, or carefully dressing them under glass, as is done in this country; indeed, scarcely any attention is paid to them, no more than is bestowed here in the raising of cucumbers, and the people in that part of the world have every reason to be well content. They plant no more than they think will come to maturity, but when it unfortunately happens that any are destroyed, they put fresh seeds into the ground. Melons will thrive too in newly cleared wood land, when it is freed from weeds; and in this situation the fruit, which they call *Spanish pork*, grows large and very abundant. I had the curiosity to weigh one of these melons, and found its weight to be seventeen pounds. In consequence of the warm temperature of the climate, the melons are quite sweet and pleasant to the taste, and however many one may eat, they will not prove injurious, provided only that they are fully ripe.

The citrull or water-citron,* (*citerullen ofte water-limoe-nen*,) also grows there, a fruit that we have not in the Netherlands, and is only known from its being occasionally brought

* The water-melon, as it is now called. The French give the name of citrull or *citrouille*, to the pumpkin. The fruit mentioned by our author under the name of melon, seems to have been the musk-melon, which, being then cultivated in Holland, did not require a particular description. But the water-melon at that period was comparatively little known, as Van der Donck states, and not regarded as a melon. On this account he describes the fruit so minutely that it cannot well be mistaken. It was sometimes termed by English writers the *Citrull cucumber*. Botanists place the water-melon in the same genus as the pumpkin, calling it *Cucurbita citrullus*.—ED.

from Portugal, except to those who have travelled in warm climates. This fruit grows more rapidly and in greater abundance than melons, so much so that some plant them, even among those who are experienced, for the purpose of clearing and bringing into subjection the wild undressed land to fit it for cultivation. Their juice is very sweet like that of apricots, and most men there would eat six water-citrons to one melon, although they who wish can have both. They grow ordinarily to the size of a man's head. I have seen them as large as the biggest Leyden cabbages, but in general they are somewhat oblong. Within they are white or red; the red have white, and the white black seeds. When they are to be eaten, the rind is cut off to about the thickness of the finger; all the rest is good, consisting of a spongy pulp, full of liquor, in which the seeds are imbedded, and if the fruit is sound and fully ripe, it melts as soon as it enters the mouth, and nothing is left but the seeds. Women and children are very fond of this fruit. It is also quite refreshing from its coolness, and is used as a beverage in many places. I have heard the English say that they obtain a liquor from it resembling Spanish wine, but not so strong. Then there is no want of sweetness, and the vinegar that is made from it will last long, and is so good that some among them make great use of it.*

Cucumbers are abundant. Calabashes or gourds also grow there; they are half as long as the pumpkin, but have within very little pulp, and are sought chiefly on account of the shell, which is hard and durable, and is used to hold seeds, spices, &c. It is the common water-pail of the natives, and I have seen one so large that it would contain more than a bushel.† Turnips also are as good and firm as any sand-rapes that are raised in the Netherlands. There are likewise peas and various sorts of beans; I shall speak of the former under the head of *field products*. Of beans there are several kinds; but the large Windsor bean, which the farmers call *tessen*, or house beans, and also the horse-bean, will not fill out their pods; the leaf grows well enough though delicate, and ten, twelve, or more

* Prof. Pallas, in the account of his journey to the southern provinces of Russia, in 1793-4, speaking of a colony of Moravians at Sarepta, or Sapa, on the Volga, says, "The ingenious inhabitants of this town brew a kind of beer from their very abundant and cheap water-melons, with the addition of hops; they also prepare a conserve or marmalade from this fruit, which is a good substitute for syrup, or treacle." Other instances of a similar character might be adduced to confirm the general correctness of the author's observations and statements, but it seems to be unnecessary. His remarks betray no want of familiarity with the subject of gardening, notwithstanding the modest disclaimer which he makes at the outset.—Ed.

† The Dutch bushel (*schepel*) is about three pecks English.

stalks frequently shoot up, but come to little or nothing.* The Turkish beans which our people have introduced there grow wonderfully; they fill out remarkably well, and are much cultivated. Before the arrival of the Netherlanders, the Indians raised beans of various kinds and colours, but generally too coarse to be eaten green, or to be pickled, except the blue sort, which are abundant; they somewhat tend to cause flatulency, like those we raise in Holland, but in other respects they furnish an excellent food, of which the Indians are especially fond. They have a peculiar mode of planting them, which our people have learned to practise:—when the Turkish wheat, (Indian corn,) or, as it is called, *maize*, is half a foot above the ground, they plant the beans around it, and let them grow together. The coarse stalk serves as a bean-prop, and the beans run upon it. They increase together and thrive extremely well, and thus two crops are gathered at the same time.

*Bridgeman makes a similar statement in regard to the 'large Windsor bean,' and other varieties of the English *Dearfs*. He says, "the principal cause of these garden beans not succeeding well in this country, is the summer heat overtaking them before they are podded, causing the blossom to drop off prematurely; to obviate this difficulty they should be planted as early in the year as possible." p. 31.

OF THE MANNERS AND PECULIAR CUSTOMS OF THE
NATIVES OF THE NEW-NETHERLANDS.

FIRST:—*Of their bodily form and appearance, and why we named them (Wilden) Wild Men.*

Having briefly remarked on the situation and advantages of the country, we deem it worth our attention to treat concerning the nature of the original native inhabitants of the land; that after the Christians have multiplied and the natives have disappeared and melted away, a memorial of them may be preserved.

Their appearance and bodily form, as well of the men as of the women, are well proportioned, and equal in height to the Netherlands, varying little from the common size. Their limbs are properly formed, and they are sprightly and active.—They can run very fast for a long time, and they can carry heavy packs. To all bodily exertions they are very competent, as far as their dispositions extend; but to heavy slavish labour the men have a particular aversion, and they manage their affairs accordingly, so that they need not labour much. Misshapen or ill-formed persons are very rare amongst them.—During the whole time of my residence in the country, I have not seen more than one who was born deformed. Cripples, hunch-backed, or other bodily infirmities, are so rare, that we may say that there are none amongst them; and when we see or hear of one who is crippled or lame, we on inquiry find the same to have originated by accident or in war. They are all properly formed and well proportioned persons. None are gross or uncommonly heavy. Although nature has not given them abundant wisdom, still they exercise their talents with discretion. No lunatics or fools are found amongst them, nor any mad or raving persons of either sex. The men and women commonly have broad shoulders and slender waists. Their hair, before old age, is jet black, sleek and uncurled, and nearly as coarse as a horse's tail. Hair of any other colour they dislike and despise. On the skin, the breast, under the arms, and on other parts of the body, they have little or no hair, and if any appear on their chins they pluck it out by the roots, and it seldom sprouts again. Their old men sometimes have a little stubble on their chins. The men and women all have fine brown eyes, and snow white teeth. Purlind, or cross-eyed

persons are rare objects, and I have never heard of a native who was born blind, and they seldom lose their sight by accident.— One I have seen who had lost his eye-sight by the small pox ; and when they become old, their sight does not fail so early in life as ours. The colour of their skin is not so white as ours ; still we see some of them who have a fine skin, and they are mostly born with good complexions ; otherwise they have a yellowish colour like the Tartars, or heathen who are seen in Holland, or like the Outlanders who keep in the fields and go uncovered as they do. Their yellowness is no fault of nature, but it is caused by the heat of the scorching sun, which is hotter and more powerful in that country than in Holland, which from generation to generation has been shining on that people, and exhibits its effects stronger. Although this yellowness of the skin appears more or less on all this race, still we find very comely men and women amongst them. It is true that they appear singular and strange to our nation, because their complexion, speech and dress are so different, but this, on acquaintance, is disregarded. Their women are well favoured and fascinating. Several of our Netherlanders were connected with them before our women came over, and remain firm in their attachments. Their faces and countenances are as various as they are in Holland, seldom very handsome, and rarely very ugly, and if they were instructed as our women are, there then would be little or no difference in their qualifications.

The original natives of the country, (for now there are native born Christians also,) although they are composed of different tribes, and speak different tongues, all pass by the appellation of (Wilden) wild men ; and this name was given them, as far as we can learn, at the first discovery of the country, which for various reasons seems very appropriate. First, on account of their religion, of which they have very little, and that is very strange ; and secondly, on account of their marriages, wherein they differ from civilized societies ; thirdly, on account of their laws, which are so singular as to deserve the name of wild regulations. And the Christians hold different names necessary to distinguish different nations, such as Turks, Mamelukes, and Barbarians ; and as the name of Heathen is very little used in foreign lands, therefore they would not distinguish the native Americans by either of these names ; and as they trade in foreign countries with dark and fair coloured people, and with those who resemble ourselves, in distinction from negroes, and as the American tribes are bordering on an olive colour, the name of *wild men* suits them best. Thus without deliberation, and as it were by chance at the first word, (as we suppose,) they were called Wild Men. And as unlearned persons never reflect much but speak their first thoughts, in this manner it

has probably happened that this people received their national name, because they seemed to be wild and strangers to the Christian religion.*

Of the Food and Subsistence of the Indians.

In eating and drinking the Indians are not excessive, even in their feast-days. They are cheerful and well satisfied when they have a sufficiency to support nature, and to satisfy hunger and thirst. It is not with them as it is here in Holland, where the greatest, noblest, and richest live more luxuriously than a *Calis*, or a common man; but with them meat and drink are sufficient and the same for all. Their common drink is water from a living spring or well, when it can be had, wherein they seldom fail, as in days of old. Sometimes in the season of grapes, and when they have fresh meat or fish, and are well pleased, they will press out the juice of the grapes and drink it new. They never make wine or beer. Brandy or strong drink is unknown to them, except to those who frequent our settlements, and have learned that beer and wine taste better than water.

In the Indian languages, which are rich and expressive, they have no word to express drunkenness. Drunken men they call fools. When they associate much with our people, and can obtain liquor, they will drink to excess, when they become insolent and troublesome, and are malicious. To prevent this, the government has forbidden the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians. Most of them however will not taste liquor. Before they are accustomed to spirituous liquor, they are easily made drunk, for which a small glass or two is sufficient; but in time they become accustomed to it, and bear it as well as our own people do. The rheumatic gout, red and pimpled noses, are snares unknown to them; nor have they any diseases or infirmities which are caused by drunkenness.

Their common food is meat, and fish of every kind, according to the seasons, and the advantages of the places where they reside. They have no pride, or particular methods in preparing their food. Their fish or meat they usually boil in water, without salt, or *smout*,† and nothing more than the articles yield. They know of no stewing, fricasseeing, baking, frying, or the like methods of cooking, and seldom do they warm up or boil any food, unless it be small pieces of meat or fish, when they

* The sexes are admirably distinguished in the Dutch language, in the case of the Indians. *Wilt* is male; *Widen* is female. The terms are much softer than the English, of Indian and squaw.—TRANS.

† A sort of oil.—F.D.

travel or are hunting, and have no other opportunity to prepare their food.

For bread they use maize, or Turkey corn, which the women pound fine into meal, (as the Hebrews did their manna in the wilderness,) of which they bake cakes, for they know nothing of mills. They also use pounded maize, as we do rice, and samp, with their boiled meat. Their common food, and for which their meal is generally used, is *pap*, or *mush*, which in the New-Netherlands is named *sapaen*. This is so common among the Indians, that they seldom pass a day without it, unless they are on a journey or hunting. We seldom visit an Indian lodge at any time of the day, without seeing their *sapaen* preparing, or seeing them eating the same. It is the common food of all; young and old eat it; and they are so well accustomed to it, and fond of it, that when they visit our people, or each other, they consider themselves neglected unless they are treated with *sapaen*. Without *sapaen* they do not eat a satisfactory meal. And when they have an opportunity, they frequently boil fish or meat with it; but seldom when the meat or fish is fresh, but when they have the articles dried hard, and pounded fine. This food they usually prepare at the close of the winter and in the spring, when the hunting season is past, and their stock of provisions is nearly exhausted. They also use many dry beans, which they consider dainties. Those they boil soft with fresh meat. They use for their subsistence every kind of fish and flesh that is fit for food, which the country and the places of their settlements afford, and that they can obtain. They observe no stated times for their meals, as our people do, but they suppose it best to eat when they are hungry. They can control their appetites, bodies and stomachs in a wonderful manner; for with very little or no food, they can pass two, three, or four days, and when afterwards they again have it plenty, they will make up for the arrears lost without overcharging their stomachs, or becoming sick; and although they eat freely, they have no excessive eaters or gluttons among them.

Ceremonies of high or low seats, or of beginning to eat their meals first or last, or to be waited upon, I have never seen among them. Seldom will they invite each other to eat with them, except at great feasts, but every person who is with them at meal time, without exception, can partake of their fare without pay or compensation. It is not customary with them to receive compensation for their hospitality. On extraordinary occasions, when they wish to entertain any person, then they prepare beavers' tails, bass heads, with parched corn meal, or very fat meat stewed with shelled chestnuts bruised.

When they intend to go a great distance on a hunting excursion, or to war, where they expect to find no food, then they

provide themselves severally with a small bag of parched corn meal, which is so nutritious that they can subsist on the same many days. A quarter of a pound of the meal is sufficient for a day's subsistence ; for as it shrinks much in the drying, it also swells out again with moisture. When they are hungry, they eat a small handful of the meal, after which they take a drink of water, and then they are so well fed, that they can travel a day. When they can obtain fish or meat to eat, then their meal serves them as well as fine bread would, because it needs no baking.

Of the Clothing and Ornaments worn by the Men and Women.

Their clothing usually is of one fashion, and they are not proud of their dress, except some of their young persons, who forget it when they become old. Their women are more inclined to dress, and to wear ornamental trinkets than the men are ; but they are not so proud as they are in Holland. The males until they are twelve or thirteen years old, run nearly naked in summer. The females when they are able to run about, wear a little covering. They are all accustomed to wear a leathern girdle, which is usually ornamented with pieces of whales' fins, whale-bones, or wampum (*zewant*). When the men can procure duffels cloth, then they wear a piece of the same half an ell wide, and nine quarters long, which they gird around their waists, and draw up a fold to cover their nakedness, with a flap of each end hanging down in front and rear. This dress does not appear uncomely, and it is light and airy in summer ; and they frequently go without any other covering. It hides their nakedness, and bears the name of a breech-cloth. Before they could obtain duffels cloth, and when it is not to be had, they wear a dressed skin cut in a proper form, and prepared for the purpose, which we commonly call a (*cloot-sap*) breech-cloth, which word in Holland may appear impolite ; but as words are intended to convey ideas, and to express the things intended, the term therefore has a common signification in that country, and will not offend the ear of a lady, or the delicacy of a maiden's taste.

The women also wear a cloth around their bodies, fastened by a girdle which extends down below their knees, and is as much as an under-coat ; but next to the body, under this coat, they wear a dressed deer-skin coat, girt around the waist. The lower border of this skirt they ornament with great art, and nestle the same with strips, which are tastefully decorated with wampum. The wampum with which one of those skirts is ornamented, is frequently worth from one to three hundred

guilders. The men and women usually wear a plaid of duffels cloth of full breadth, and three ells long. This is worn over the right shoulder, drawn in the form of a knot about the body, with the ends extending down below the knees. This plaid serves them for a covering by day, and for a blanket by night. Stockings and shoes (moccasins) made of deer and buffalo skins, are worn by both sexes; some of those they ornament curiously with wampum, &c.; but those articles are bad to wear. They also make shoes out of corn husks, which are not durable. Some of them purchase shoes and stockings from us, which they find to be most comfortable.

The men usually go bare-headed, and the women with their hair bound behind, in a club of about a hand long, in the form of a beaver's tail; over which they draw a square cap, which is frequently ornamented with wampum. When they desire to appear fine, they draw a head-band around the forehead, which is also ornamented with wampum, &c. This band confines the hair smooth, and is fastened behind over the club, in a beau's knot. Many believe these head-bands are like those worn by the ancient women. Their head-dress forms a handsome and lively appearance. Around their necks they wear various ornaments, which are also decorated with wampum. Those they esteem as highly as our ladies do their pearl necklaces. They also wear hand-bands, or bracelets, curiously wrought, and interwoven with wampum. Their breasts appear about half covered with an elegantly wrought dress. They wear beautiful girdles, ornamented with their favourite wampum, and costly ornaments in their ears. Their young women and their courtiers, when they desire to appear superfine, also paint a few black stripes on their faces. They usually appear sedate, as if they possessed no amorous feelings; they however only thus disguise nature. The men paint themselves uniformly, particularly their faces, with various colours, by which they can so effectually disguise themselves as to deceive an acquaintance. In their parade time they appear very deceitful, and they will scarcely turn their heads to notice an object. Some of them wear a band about their heads, manufactured and braided of scarlet deer-hair, interwoven with soft shining red hair. With this head-dress, they appear like the delineations and paintings of the Catholic saints. When a young Indian is dressed in this manner, he would not say *plum*, for a bushel of plums. They however seldom decorate themselves in this manner, unless they have a young female in view. Otherwise they naturally are filthy and negligent in their dress. In winter, when the weather is cold, the women and children do not go abroad much, and when they do, they cover themselves with duffels and other articles. The men, to defend themselves against the

cold, grease themselves with bear and racoon fat. They also wear clothing made of weasel, bear, deer, and buffalo skins, &c. With such dresses they can withstand the cold easily. At a word, they have all necessary raiment to defend themselves against the inclemency of the weather. In their best apparel, they know not how to appear proud and foppish. To white linen they formerly were strangers, but now many begin to wear shirts, which they buy from our people, and those they frequently wear without washing until the same are worn out.

Of their Houses, Castles, Villages, and Towns.

Their houses are usually constructed in the same manner, without any particular costliness or curiosity in or to the same. Sometimes they build their houses above a hundred feet long; but never more than twenty feet wide. When they build a house, they place long slender hickory saplings in the ground, having the bark stripped off, in a straight line of two rows, as far asunder as they intend the breadth of the house to be, and continuing the rows as far as it is intended the length shall be. Those sapling poles are bent over towards each other in the form of an arch, and secured together, having the appearance of a garden arbour. The sapling poles are then crossed with split poles in the form of lathing, which are well fastened to the upright work. The lathings are heaviest near the ground. A space of about a foot wide is left open in the crown of the arch. For covering they use the bark of ash, chestnut, and other trees, which they peel off in pieces of about six feet long, and as broad as they can. They cover their houses, laying the smooth side inwards, leaving an open space of about a foot wide in the crown, to let out the smoke. They lap the side edges and ends over each other, having regard to the shrinking of the bark, securing the covering with withes to the lathings. A crack or rent they shut up, and in this manner they make their houses proof against wind and rain. They have one door in the centre of the house. When the bark of the ash and chestnut trees is not loose, they have recourse to the timber trees, which grow along the brooks, the bark of which can be taken off during the whole summer season. Durability is a primary object in their houses. In short, their houses are tight and tolerably warm, but they know nothing of chambers, halls, and closets. They kindle and keep their fires in the middle of their houses, from one end to the other, and the opening in the crown of the roof lets out the smoke. From sixteen to eighteen families frequently dwell in one house, according to its size. The fire being kept in the middle, the people lay on either side

thereof, and each family has its own place. If they have a place for a pot or kettle, with a few small articles, and a place to sleep, then they have room enough ; and in this manner, a hundred, and frequently many more, dwell together in one house. Such is the construction of an Indian dwelling in every place, unless they are out on fishing and hunting excursions, and then they erect temporary huts or shanties.

In their villages and their castles they always build strong, firm works, adapted to the places. For the erection of these castles, or strong holds, they usually select a situation on the side of a steep high hill, near a stream or river, which is difficult of access, except from the water, and inaccessible on every other side, with a level plain on the crown of the hill, which they enclose with a strong stockade work in a singular manner. First, they lay along on the ground large logs of wood, and frequently smaller logs upon the lower logs, which serve for the foundation of the work. Then they place strong oak palisades in the ground on both sides of the foundation, the upper ends of which cross each other, and are joined together. In the upper cross of the palisades they then place the bodies of trees, which makes the work strong and firm. Thus they secure themselves against the sudden invasion of their enemies. But they have no knowledge of adding flankings and curtains to their fortifications. Those belong not to their system. Near their plantations they also frequently erect small works, to secure their wives and children against the sudden irruption of the small marauding parties of their enemies. When their castles and forts are constructed according to their rude custom, they consider the same very safe and secure places. But in a war with the Christians, those afford them no security ; on the contrary, they do them more injury than good. In their castles, they frequently have twenty or thirty houses. We have measured their houses, and found some of them to be a hundred and eighty yards long, and as narrow as before stated. In those places, they crowd an astonishing number of persons, and it is surprising to see them out in open day. Besides their strong holds, they have villages and towns which are enclosed. Those usually have woodland on the one side, and corn lands on the other sides. They also frequently have villages near the water sides, at fishing places, where they plant some vegetables ; but they leave those places every year on the approach of winter, and retire to their strong places, or into the thick woods, where they are protected from the winds, and where fuel is plenty, and where there is game and venison. Thus they subsist by hunting and fishing throughout the year.

Their castles and large towns they seldom leave altogether. From other situations they remove frequently, and they seldom

remain long at other places. In the summer, and in the fishing seasons, many come to the water sides and rivers. In the fall and winter, when venison is best, they retire to the woods and hunting grounds. Sometimes towards the spring of the year, they come in multitudes to the sea shores and bays, to take oysters, clams, and every kind of shell-fish, which they know how to dry, and preserve good a long time.

Of their Marriages, Accouchements, Children, &c.

Having treated of the manners of the natives, of their appearance, of their clothing, of their ornaments, of their subsistence, and of their dwellings ; we will continue the description, and treat of their customs in their marriages and connections, without which they could not be. Marriages, and the fruits of marriage connections between males and females, keep up the succession of every living species in the world ; and there has been no nation discovered or known, so barbarous as not to be benefited by marriage connections, and who have not upheld and supported the same. With the natives of the New-Netherlands, (for the Christian usages are the same as in Holland,) we can still observe the old and ancient customs in their marriage ceremonies. But to illustrate the subject properly, it will be necessary to notice their distinguishing names of man and woman, father and mother, sister and brother, uncle and aunt, niece and nephew, husband and wife, married and unmarried, which are all known and distinguished among the natives by different and appropriate names, and give strong evidence of their attachment to their relatives, and of their preference to marriage connections. The natives generally marry but one wife, and no more, unless it be chief, who is great and powerful ; such frequently have two, three, or four wives, of the neatest and handsomest women ; and it is extraordinary, that the people can, by the light of nature, so effectually control their women, that no feuds or jealousies do arise and exist between them ; for on inquiry, we have never discovered that any strife, hatred, or discord existed in an Indian family between the women about their family affairs, their children, or of the preference of their husband, whom they all esteem and implicitly obey. Concerning their marriages, they do not use as many ceremonies as the people of fashion do in Holland ; but they act more like common citizens on such occasions. With the natives there is no established time of marriageable years, but they judge their apparent fitness from their appearance, about which they are not very particular even to experimental proof. When the parties are young and related, the marriage usually

takes place upon the counsel and advice of their relatives, having regard to their families and character. When the parties are widows or widowers, whether by death or otherwise, of whom there are many, then also it takes place sometimes upon the advice of friends; but it is not common for relatives to interfere in such marriages. The men, according to their condition, must always present their intended and betrothed bride, with a marriage gift, as a confirmation of their agreement, and of his intention, being similar to the marriage pledge of the ancients. When the parties are a widow or widower, who unite without the advice of friends, and the parties afterwards do not agree, for good cause or otherwise, then the husband frequently takes the gifts from his wife, forbids her his bed, and if she does not leave him, he turns her out of doors. Marriages with them are not so binding but that either party may altogether dissolve the union, which they frequently do.—I have known an Indian who changed his wife every year, although he had little or no reason for it. We have also noticed that the dissolution of their marriages for unchastity, arises more from the improper conduct of men, than of the women.—In their marriage dissolutions, the children follow their mother, which is also usual in many other nations, who calculate their descent and genealogies from the mother's side. The longer a marriage exists among the natives, the more the parties are esteemed and honoured. To be unchaste during wedlock, is held to be very disgraceful among them. Many of their women would prefer death, rather than submit to be dishonoured. Prostitution is considered baser by day than by night, and in the open fields than elsewhere, as it may be seen, or shined upon by the sun, which they say beholds the deed. No Indian will keep his wife, however much he loved her, when he knows she is unchaste. When their women are young, free, and unmarried, they act as they please, but they are always mercenary in their conduct, and deem it disgraceful to be otherwise; neither is the fruit of illicit connexions despised, but the same are disregarded in a marriage connexion. Few females will associate with men in a state of concubinage when they will not marry. Those women are proud of such conduct, and when they become old they will frequently boast of their connexion with many of their chiefs and great men. This I have heard from several aged women, who deemed themselves honoured for having been esteemed, and gloried of their "*quasi bene gesta*," in their speeches. When one of their young women is *rijp*, (for that is the native term,) and wishes to be married, it is customary on such occasions that they veil their faces completely, and sit covered as an indication of their desire; whereupon pro-

positions are made to such persons, and the practice is common with young women who have suitors, whereby they give publicity of their inclination. The men seldom make the first overtures, unless success is certain and they hope to improve their condition in life. Whenever a native female is pregnant, in wedlock or otherwise, they take care that they do no act that would injure the offspring. During pregnancy they are generally healthy, and they experience little or no sickness or painful days, and when the time of their delivery is near, (which they calculate closely,) and they fear a severe accouchement, or if it be their first time, then they prepare a drink made of a decoction of roots that grow in the woods, which are known by them, and they depart alone to a secluded place near a brook, or stream of water, where they can be protected from the winds, and prepare a shelter for themselves with mats and covering, where, provided with provisions necessary for them, they await their delivery without the company or aid of any person. After their children are born, and if they are males, although the weather be ever so cold and freezing, they immerse them some time in the water, which, they say, makes them strong brave men, and hardy hunters. After the immersion they wrap their children in warm clothing and pay them great attention from fear of accidents, and after they have remained several days in their secluded places, again return to their homes and friends. They rarely are sick from child-birth, suffer no inconveniences from the same, nor do any of them die on such occasions. Upon this subject some persons assign, as a reason and cause for their extraordinary deliveries, that the knowledge of good and evil is not given to them, as unto us; that therefore they do not suffer the pains of sin in bringing forth their children; that such pains are really not natural, but the punishment which follows the knowledge of sin, as committed by our first mother, and is attached to those only; others ascribe the cause of the difference to the salubrity of the climate, their well-formed bodies, and their manner of living.

Of the Suckling of their Children, and the associations of the Men and Women.

The native Indian women of every grade always nurse their own children, nor do we know of any who have trusted that parental duty to others. About New-Amsterdam, and for many miles and days' journey into the interior, I have never heard of but a few instances of native women, who did not take good care of their children, or who trusted them to the nursing and care of others; when they suckle or are pregnant, they in those

cases practise the strictest abstinence, because, as they say, it is beneficial to their offspring, and to nursing children. In the meantime, their women are not precise or offended, if their husbands have foreign associations, but they observe the former custom so religiously, that they hold it to be disgraceful for a woman to recede from it before her child is weaned, which they usually do when their children are a year old, and those who wean their children before that period are despised. During a certain season, their women seclude themselves, and do not appear abroad, or permit themselves to be seen of men; if they are at one of their great feasts or public assemblies, and the fountain springs, they retire immediately if possible, and do not appear abroad again until the season is over. Otherwise when all is well, and they are not betrothed, they frequently are light of behaviour, as well the women as the men, and yield to temptation without shame; but foul and impertinent language, which is common with the lower class with us, is despised with them. All romping, caressing and wanton behaviour they speak of with contempt, and say that they are indirect allurements to unchastity. If they observe such behaviour among the Netherlanders, they reprove the parties, and bid them seek retirement. What better reproof can be given to such levity? Some of their chiefs and great men have two or three wives, who will readily accommodate a visiting friend with one of his women for a night; but if it takes place without his consent, the act is deemed a disgrace, and the woman is chastised and sent away.

Manner of burying their Dead.—Lamentations and Mourning.

Whenever an Indian departs this life, all the residents of the place assemble at the funeral. To a distant stranger, who has not a friend or relative in the place, they pay the like respect. They are equally careful to commit the body to the earth, without neglecting any of the usual ceremonies, according to the standing of the deceased. In deadly diseases, they are faithful to sustain and take care of each other. Whenever a soul has departed, the nearest relatives extend the limbs and close the eyes of the dead; and after the body has been watched and wept over several days and nights, they bring it to the grave, wherein they do not lay it down, but place it in a sitting posture upon a stone or a block of wood, as if the body were sitting upon a stool; then they place a pot, kettle, platter, spoon, with some provision and money, near the body in the grave; this they say is necessary for the journey to the other world. Then they place as much wood around the body as will keep the

earth from it. Above the grave they place a large pile of wood, stone or earth, and around and above the same they place palisades resembling a small dwelling. All their burial places are secluded and preserved with religious veneration and care, and they consider it wicked and infamous to disturb or injure their burial places. The nearest relatives of the deceased, particularly the women, (the men seldom exhibit much excitement,) have their periods of lamentations, when they make dreadful and wonderful wailing, naming the dead, smiting upon their breasts, scratching and disfiguring their faces, and showing all possible signs of grief. But where a mother has lost a child, her expressions of grief exceed all bounds, for she calls and wails whole nights over her infant, as if she really were in a state of madness. If the deceased are young persons, or persons slain in war, then their lamentations are of a particular kind, and the women shave off their hair, which they keep the customary time, and then they burn the hair upon the graves of the deceased or slain, in the presence of the relations. In short they possess strong passions, and exhibit the same with much feeling when mourning over their dead relatives and friends. For the purpose of removing the existing causes of grief, and not to excite sorrow in the mind of the bereaved, and as far as possible to promote forgetfulness of the friends lost, the name of the deceased is never mentioned in the presence of the relations; or when the name is mentioned, it is received as if designed to produce mortification, and as an act of unkindness. The use of tokens of mourning is common, which usually are black signs upon their bodies; when a woman loses her husband, she shaves off her hair, and paints her whole countenance black as pitch, and men do the same when their wives die, and they also wear a buckskin vest next to their skin, and mourn a whole year, even if they have not been long married, or if the connection had not been happy—still they observe the ceremonies religiously, without marrying again until the season of mourning is over.

Of their Feast Days and Particular Assemblies.

Feasts and great assemblages are not common among the Indians, yet they occur sometimes, and on special occasions, as on the subjects of peace, war, alliances, treaties and devotions; or to counsel the devil on some approaching event, or in relation to the fruitfulness of the seasons, or to celebrate some successful occurrence by frolicking and dancing, as at the conclusion of peace, or to make war with some neighbouring people. They do not resolve and decide hastily and by a small number,

but on all important matters, all the chiefs and persons of any distinction in the nation assemble in their councils, when each of them express their opinions freely on the subject before the council, as briefly or as extendedly as they please without any molestation. If the speaker even digresses from the matter in hand, or opposes others, he is heard with attention; if they approve of what has been said, at the conclusion they shout and cheer the orator. Their councils assemble in the morning while the sun is ascending, and if the business is not done before noon they adjourn until the next morning. When they wish to hunt or drive the devil (as they do by *spooking* and deception), then they assemble in the afternoon towards evening, and then some of them do, most singularly indeed, endeavour to enchant and charm the devil and carry on witchcraft, wherein the common people believe. They begin with jumping, crying, and grinning, as if they were possessed and mad. They kindle large fires, and dance around and over the same, lengthwise and across; they roll, tumble overhead, and bend themselves, and continue their violent exercises until the sweat pours out and streams down to their feet. By their distortions and hideous acts, they appear like devils themselves; their awful conduct will astonish those who are not accustomed to see them. During those operations, all their devil-drivers join in the rolling and howling, when they altogether appear to be crazy. When their charming has continued some time, then the devil, as they say, appears to them in the form of a beast. If the beast be a ravenous animal, it is a bad omen; if it be a harmless creature, the sign is better; the animal gives them strange answers to their inquiries, but seldom so clear and distinct that they can comprehend or interpret the same, which, however, they strike at, as a blind man does at an egg. If they interpret the answers incorrectly, the fault is theirs—sometimes they utter things beyond the devil's texts. If there be any Christians present on those occasions, who observe all their doings, then their devil will not appear. Their devil-drivers sometimes bewitch some of their common people, and cause them to appear possessed or besotted, which otherwise is not seen, when they cast themselves into glowing fires without feeling it. When the person who has been afflicted for some time, and one of the charmers whisper in his ear, he again becomes as gentle as a lamb. When they assemble to rejoice or dance, they meet at mid-day. On those occasions, an orator first delivers an address on the occasion and cause of their meeting, after which they entertain themselves by eating and feasting; this they also do sometimes at their councils. They eat lustily on such occasions, and every one devours as much food as would serve each of them for three days, as no-

thing may be left at their frolics ; what is not eaten by them or by their dogs must be carried back. When they have stuffed themselves like cattle and can scarcely move, then the old and middle-aged conclude with smoking, and the young with a *kin-tecaw*, singing and dancing, which frequently is continued until morning.

How Men and Animals came on the American Continent.

There are various opinions on this subject, and many persons have endeavoured to show how those, whom we name Indians, first came to this part of the world, which is separated from the other parts by the great seas, and which appears always to have been thus separated. Some are of the opinion that they were planted as a colony ; others ask, by whom ? and how lions, bears, wolves, foxes, serpents, with poisonous reptiles, and other ravenous beasts came on the continent, because such are never carried or transported in ships. When we speak to the natives of the creation, we can never satisfy them on the subject, or receive from them any affirmation that they believe in the doctrine. Many remark that an unknown chronicle writer has observed, that in former days, when, according to some *Rationes Gentium*, people were accustomed to adventures ; some persons well equipped and provided, sailed from a part of Norway or Sweden in search of a better country, under the command of a certain chief named *Sachema*, and that they had never been heard from after they sailed ; and as all the native chiefs of the New-Netherlands who reside along the rivers and the sea-shore are called *sachems*, they conclude that the country was peopled by those adventurers. We, however, do not concur in this opinion, although the subject seems mysterious.* Others go much farther, and inquire whether the natives of the new world have descended from Adam, and whether there has not been a separate creation of men and creatures for the same. This theory they endeavour to support by various reasons. They assert that there has been no deluge over America, and speak of the same as a separate and entire new world, being entirely different in formation and condition from the old world, and by connecting other matters in support of their proposition, they render their subject plausible. They also doubt whether the new world will be judged at the judgment day with the old world. In support of their doctrine they affirm that the period is not long since sinners came there ; that the natives were

* It is now well ascertained that this continent was visited by the Northmen, (from Norway, Sweden, &c.) about A. D. 1000.—ED.

innocent ; that the land had not been cursed on their account ; and that no righteous punishment can be inflicted on them with the other inhabitants of the old world. A more probable opinion is advanced by others, who affirm that many years ago the sea between Cape de Verds and America was as narrow or of less breadth than the strait between Calais and Dover, and that by the help of the adjacent and intervening islands, people and animals could pass and re-pass from Africa to America. If the communication was not there, (which is not to be credited,) it must have been elsewhere ; and as memorials of Chinese origin are found at the Brazils, it is evident that the Chinese have formerly been there, and that they came to the country along the broken coast of the strait of Magellan, or overland from the shore of the Pacific ocean ; or that that they had driven a trade in the country. It is necessary that we support the planting of a colony, and the removal of people from the old world, and not a separate creation, as by the latter the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures would be subverted and ruined. Those who hold other opinions, ask, if at any time people could see across from Cape de Verds to America, whether, in such a case, Columbus or Americus can have found a country which was never lost ? It is not our intention to follow those disputations, but we will leave every person to the enjoyment of his own opinion on the subject, and proceed in our work.

Of the different Nations and Languages.

The nations, tribes and languages are as different in America as they are in Europe. All those who are of one tribe or nation, form one separate society, and usually keep together ; every tribe or nation has its own chief, and is a separate government, subject to its own laws and regulations. They however all appear to have descended from one parent-stock, but they seldom marry out of their own tribes. They always are jealous of each other as it respects their national power ; and every tribe endeavours to increase its own strength. As they have chiefs over their nations, tribes, and settlements, so also every family has its head, who is regarded as the most eminent and famous by descent, — from which their rank in the tribe is usually settled. Their languages and dialects are very different, as unlike each other as the Dutch, French, Greek and Latin are. Their declensions and conjugations have an affinity with the Greek and accord to it. Their declensions, augmentations, cases and adverbs, are like the Greek ; but to reduce their language to any of ours, would be impossible, for there is no resemblance between the same. Before we have acquired a knowledge of any of their

languages or dialects, we know no more of what they say than if a dog had barked. In some of their languages the letter *r*, is not sounded, and in others scarcely a syllable is spoken without it; otherwise they are not very different, and the tribes usually can understand their dialects. Their various tongues may be classed into four distinct languages, namely, *Manhattan*, *Minquas*, *Savanoos*, and *Wappanoos*. With the *Manhattans*, we include those who live in the neighbouring places along the North river, on Long Island, and at the *Neversink*. With the *Minquas* we include the *Senecas*, the *Maquaas*, and other inland tribes. The *Savanoos* are the southern nations, and the *Wappanoos* are the eastern nations. Their languages are seldom learned perfectly by any of our people, and those who by long and continued intercourse and conversation with the Indians learn to speak their language, are not men of education, and are unable to compose grammatical rules for the same, and of course are unable to instruct others.

Of their Money or Circulating Medium.

That there should be no miserly desire for the costly metals among the natives, few will believe; still it is true, the use of gold and silver or any metallic coin is unknown among them. The currency which they use in their places to which they resort is called *wampum*, the making and preparing of which is free to all persons. The species are black and white, but the black is worth more by one half than the white. The black *wampum* is made from conck shells, which are to be taken from the sea, or which are cast ashore from the sea twice a year. They strike off the thin parts of those shells and preserve the pillars or standards, which they grind smooth and even and reduce the same according to their thickness, and drill a hole through every piece and string the same on strings, and afterwards sell their strings of *wampum* in that manner. This is the only article of moneyed medium among the natives, with which any traffic can be driven; and it is also common with us in purchasing necessities and carrying on our trade; many thousand strings are exchanged every year for peltries near the sea shores where the *wampum* is only made, and where the peltries are brought for sale. Among the *Netherlanders* gold and silver begin to increase and are current, but still the amount differs much from that of the *Netherlands*.

Of the Nature and Diversions of the Indians.

The Indians are naturally (with few exceptions) of taciturn, steady and pensive dispositions and tempers, and of few words, which are well considered, uttered slowly, and long remembered; they say no more than is necessary to the subject in hand. When they want to buy or to sell any article, they say no more than is necessary to the bargain. On the other occasions, they talk of no subjects except hunting, fishing, and war. Their young men frequently entertain each other on their gallantry with young female connections. They despise lying, and still they are not very precise in the performance of their engagements. Swearing and scolding are not heard among them, unless it be among those who have learned those habits from us. They do not possess great wisdom or extensive knowledge, but reasonable understanding, resulting from practical experience, which they certainly possess without any desire for further instruction; they are naturally civil and well disposed, and quick enough to distinguish between good and evil, but after they have associated amongst us, they become cunning and deceitful. They are slovenly, careless, and dirty of their persons, and are troubled with the evils which attend filthiness. They are very revengeful and obstinate even unto death, and when in trouble they disregard and despise all pain and torture that can be done to them, and will sing with proud contempt until death terminates their sufferings. They are all stingy and inclined to beggary, and cannot be trusted too far because they also are thievish; denying them the least trifle does not offend them. They are all free by nature, and will not bear any domineering or lording over them; they will not bear any insult, unless they have done wrong, and they will bear chastisement without resentment. Delicious food or drink they disregard; they fear no accidents, and can endure heat, cold, hunger, and thirst, in a wonderful manner, and they can all swim like ducks from their childhood. When abroad they spend their time in hunting, fishing or war; at home they smoke tobacco, and play a game with pieces of reeds, resembling our card playing. The old men knit nets, and make wooden bowls and ladles. Labour among the young men is uncommon, and nearly all the necessary labour is done by the females.

Of their Sustenance and Medicines.

Famine they do not fear, nor do they regard medicines and purgatives much. When they are unwell, they fast; if that will not remove the complaint, they then have recourse to

sweating and drinks ; but the latter they take very sparingly. Their sweating places are made of clay, and enclosed tight in the earth, with a small entrance to admit the patients within the apartments. Where the place is needed there many stones are heated, and placed around and within the same ; and then the patient enters and sits down, naked and singing, wherein he remains as long as it is possible to endure the heat, and on leaving the stewing apartment, they usually lay down in cold spring water. By those means they say that they gain relief, and cure most diseases. They can heal fresh wounds and dangerous bruises in a most wonderful manner. They also have remedies for old sores and ulcers, and they also cure venereal affections so readily, that many an Italian master who saw it, would be ashamed of his profession. All their cures are made with herbs, roots and leaves, (with the powers of which they are acquainted,) without making any compounds. Still it must be admitted that nature assists them greatly, for they indulge in no excesses of eating or drinking, otherwise they could not accomplish so much with such simple and small means. When any of them are very sick, and they apprehend the disease to be of a deadly character ; then, they all, or at least the nearest relatives of the sick persons, have recourse to devil-hunting or driving, and make noise enough to frighten a person in extremity to death ; which they say they do to learn from the devil whether the patient will live or die, and when hope of recovery is given, what remedies are to be used for the restoration of the sick. They seldom however receive any positive answers, but directions to use remedies, and when their hope for the recovery of the sick, then food is presented to the person, who is persuaded to eat heartily, whether the food is relished or not.

Of their Agriculture, Planting, and Gardening.

All their agriculture is performed by their women. The men give themselves very little trouble about the same, except those who were old. They, with the young children will do some labor under the direction of the women. They cultivate no wheat, oats, barley or rye, and know nothing of ploughing, spading and spitting up the soil, and are not neat and cleanly in their fields. The grain which they raise for bread, and mush or sapaen, is maize or turkey-corn, and they raise various kinds of beans as before remarked. They also plant tobacco for their own use, which is not as good as ours, and of a different kind, that does not require as much labour and attendance. Of garden vegetables, they raise none, except pumpkins and squashes, as before observed. They usually leave their fields and garden spots open, unenclosed, and unprotected by fencing, and take

very little care of the same, though they raise an abundance of corn and beans, of which we obtain whole cargoes in sloops and galleys in trade.

Of manuring and proper tillage they know nothing. All their tillage is done by the hand and with small adzes, which they purchase from us. Although little can be said in favour of their husbandry, still they prefer their practice to ours, because our methods require too much labour and care to please them, with which they are not well satisfied.

A Relation of their Hunting and Fishing.

To hunting and fishing the Indians are all extravagantly inclined, and they have their particular seasons for these engagements. In the spring and part of the summer, they practise fishing. When the wild herbage begins to grow up in the woods, the first hunting season begins, and then many of their young men leave the fisheries for the purpose of hunting; but the old and thoughtful men remain at the fisheries until the second and principal hunting season, which they also attend, but with snares only. Their fishing is carried on in the inland waters, and by those who dwell near the sea, or the sea-islands. The latter have particular advantages. Their fishing is done with seines, set-nets, small fikes, wears, and laying hooks. They do not know how to salt fish, or how to cure fish properly. They sometimes dry fish to preserve the same, but those are half tainted, which they pound to meal to be used in chowder in winter. Their young and active men are much engaged in hunting bears, wolves, fishers, otters, and beavers. Near the sea-shores and rivers where the Christians mostly reside, they hunt deer, where many are killed. Those are mostly caught in snares, they also shoot them with arrows and guns. The Indians sometimes unite in companies of from one to two hundred, when they have rare sport. On those occasions, they drive over a large district of land and kill much game. They also make extensive fikes with palisades, which are narrow at their terminating angles, wherein they drive multitudes of animals and take great numbers. At a word, they are expert hunters for every kind of game, and know to practise the best methods to insure success. The beavers are mostly taken far inland, there being few of them near the settlements—particularly by the black Minquas, who are thus named because they wear a black badge on their breast, and not because they are really black, by the Senecas, by the Maquas, and by the Rondaxes or French Indians, who are also called Euyrons (*Hurons*). For beaver hunting the Indians go in large parties, and remain out from one

to two months, during which time they subsist by hunting and on a little corn meal which they carry out with them, and they frequently return home with from forty to eighty beaver skins, and with some otter, fishers and other skins also, even more than can be correctly stated. We estimate that eighty thousand beavers are annually killed in this quarter of the country, besides elks, bears, otters, deer and other animals. There are some persons who imagine that the animals of the country will be destroyed in time, but this is unnecessary anxiety. It has already continued many years, and the numbers brought in do not diminish. The country is full of lakes, seas, rivers, streams and creeks, and extends very far, even to the great south sea; hence we infer, that there will not be an end to the wild animals, and also because there are large districts where the animals will remain unmolested.

Of their Orders and Distinctions, by birth or otherwise.

Distinctions are supported and observed among all the Indian nations, but not as much as amongst us. They remark, that they do not know why one man should be so much higher than another as we represent them to be. And till they have those among them whom they hold as nobles, who seldom marry below their rank, and they also have their commonality. No chief among them has the power to confer rank. Rank descends in families, and continues as long as any one in the family is fit to rule, and regents frequently govern in the name of a minor. The oldest and first of a household or family, represent the same with or unto the chief of the nation. Military distinction is not observed, except in war; and then it is conferred by merit, without regard to families or birth. The lowest among them may become a chief, but the rank dies with the person, unless his posterity follow in the footsteps of the parent; and then, the rank of the parent and his situation will descend in the family. It may well be supposed that such is the origin of the rank and distinction which prevails among them. Their chiefs feel proud of their stations, but not as much as ours do. Still their commonality do not regard them much, unless they are distinguished for understanding, activity and bravery; and then they honour them greatly. Such persons, for their artfulness and activity, they compare with the devil, the master of evil arts, and name them, Manitto or Ottico.

Of their Wars and Weapons.

The principal command and authority among the Indians is developed in war, and in their councils on war. In times of war they do not organize armies, troops or regiments. In their best postures they are without regular order. They are artful in their measures, furious in their attacks, and unmerciful victors. When their plans are hazardous, then they are conducted covertly and privately by night. They always practise hindrances, deceptions, and ambuscades against their enemies. Face to face, in the open field or on water, they are not soldiers. They usually run away in time, if they can; but when they are surrounded and cannot escape, then they fight obstinately, and as long as they can stand, to the last man. The victors accept of no ransom, nor are the captives certain of their lives, until they are given over to persons who have previously lost connections by blood in war. They seldom destroy women and children, unless it be in their first fury, but never afterwards. If it be in their power, they carry them all with them to their own abode. The women they treat as they do their own, and the children they bring up as their own, to strengthen their nation. They all serve as volunteers in war, and they receive no pay to retain them in service. They cannot subsist long in a body together, nor can they conduct sieges. Their men will not readily divulge any of their secret designs, unless it be to their own women, and they usually do not know enough to withhold a secret from the Christians, particularly when they expect to derive any advantages from the development.

When they intend to carry on any offensive measures, and when they fear approaching danger; in those cases, the women and children are removed to places of safety, where they hope to secure them from danger until their purposes are executed, or until the apprehended dangers are past.

Their weapons formerly were bows and arrows, with a war-club hung to the arm, and a square shield which covered the body up to the shoulders; their faces they disfigure in such a manner that it is difficult to recognize one known before; they bind bands or snake-skins round the head, and place a fox's or wolf's tail perpendicularly upon the head, and walk as proud as peacocks. At present many of them use fire-arms, which they prize highly and learn to use dexterously. They spare no pains in procuring guns and ammunition, for which they trade with the Christians at a dear rate. At present they also use small axes (tomahawks) instead of their war-clubs, and thus they march onwards.

Of their Laws and Punishments.

The common rules of order in the administration of justice are not observed among this people, and are not exercised to protect the innocent or to punish the guilty. There is so little order observed among them that the Netherlanders, who reside there and traffic with them, are astonished to find that such societies can remain united, where there is no regard paid to the administration of justice. All minor offences, such as stealing, adultery, lying, cheating, and the like wrongs against civil order, pass unpunished among them. I have known that an unmarried woman murdered her own child, and although the fact was well known, still she went unpunished; and also that an Indian, on several occasions, violated several women whom he found alone in the woods and in lonely places, who also passed unpunished. With those exceptions, during a residence of nine years in the country, I have not heard of any capital offences. Stealing is quite common among them, but not of articles of great value. It may be a knife, an axe, a pair of shoes, a pair of stockings, or such like articles. When we detect them with the goods, we may retake the same and chastise them freely; and when the thief is not known and the matter is represented to the chief, the property is usually restored. On those occasions the thief is reprimanded by the chief for his conduct, and although reproof is the highest punishment suffered by the culprit, yet it will not readily show how much they fear such treatment, and how uncommon crimes are among them. With us a watchful police is supported, and crimes are more frequent than among them.

Murder or personal injuries are not attended to by the chief, or friends, except for the purpose of reconciling the parties, for which they use all possible means, and give liberally to effect their object when the offender is deficient in means, which is usually the case. A murder among them is never atoned for without heavy payment. The nearest relative by blood always is the avenger, and if he finds the murderer within twenty-four hours after the act, he is slain instantly, but if the murderer can save himself until one day is past, and the avenger slays him afterwards, then he is liable to be pursued and slain in like manner. A murderer seldom is killed after the first twenty-four hours are past, but he must flee and remain concealed; when the friends endeavour to reconcile the parties, which is frequently agreed to, on condition, that the nearest relatives of the murderer, be they men, women, or children, on meeting the relatives of the person murdered, must give way to them.

Persons are very seldom doomed to death among them, except captives taken in war, whom they consider to have forfeited the rights of man. Such they condemn to be burned. This they usually do slowly, beginning with their hands and feet. The torture sometimes lasts three days before the victim expires, who continues to sing and dance until life is extinct, reproaching his tormentors, deriding their conduct, and extolling the bravery of his own nation.

Of their Religion, and whether they can be brought over to the Christian Faith.

The natives are all heathen and without any religious devotions. Idols are neither known nor worshipped among them. When they take an oath they swear by the sun, which, they say, sees all things. They think much of the moon, and believe it has great influence over vegetation. Although they know all the planets from the other stars, by appropriate names, still they pay no idolatrous worship to the same, yet by the planets and other signs they are somewhat weatherwise. The offering up of prayers, or the making of any distinction between days, or any matter of the kind, is unknown among them. They neither know or say any thing of God; but they possess great fear of the devil, who they believe causes diseases, and does them much injury. When they go on a hunting or fishing excursion they usually cast a part of what is first taken into the fire, without using any ceremony on the occasion, then saying, "stay thou devil, eat thou that."* They love to hear us speak of God and of our religion, and are very attentive and still during divine service and prayers, and apparently are inclined to devotion; but in truth they know nothing about it, and live without any religion, or without any inward or outward godly fear, nor do they know of any superstition or idolatry; they only follow the instilled laws of nature, therefore some suppose they can easily be brought to the knowledge and fear of God. Among some nations the word Sunday is known by the name of Kintowen. The oldest among them say that in former times the knowledge and fear of God had been known among them, and they remark, that since they can neither read nor write, in process of time the Sunday will be forgotten, and all knowledge of the same lost. Their old men, when we reason earnestly with them on the matter, seem to feel pensive or sorrowful, but manifest no other emotions or agitations—when

* The offering here said to be made to the devil is certainly a gross act of superstition.—TRANS.

we reprove them for bad conduct and reason with them on its impropriety, and say that there is a God in heaven above whom they offend, their common answer is—'We do not know that God, we have never seen him, we know not who he is—if you know him and fear him, as you say you do, how does it then happen that so many thieves, drunkards, and evil-doers are found among you. Certainly that God will punish you severely, because he has warned you to beware of those deeds, which he has never done to us. We know nothing about it, and therefore we do not deserve such punishment.' Very seldom do they adopt our religion, nor have there been any political measures taken for their conversion. When their children are young some of them are frequently taken into our families for assistants, who are, according to opportunity, instructed in our religion, but as soon as they are grown up, and turn lovers and associate again with the Indians, they forget their religious impressions and adopt the Indian customs. The Jesuits have taken great pains and trouble in Canada to convert the Indians to the Roman Church, and outwardly many profess that religion; but inasmuch as they are not well instructed in its fundamental principles, they fall off lightly and make sport of the subject and its doctrine.

In the year 1639, when a certain merchant, who is still living with us, went into that country to trade with an Indian chief who spoke good French, after he had drank two or three glasses of wine, they began to converse on the subject of religion. The chief said that he had been instructed so far that he often said mass among the Indians, and that on a certain occasion the place where the altar stood caught fire by accident, and our people made preparations to put out the fire, which he forbade them to do, saying that God, who stands there, is almighty, and he will put out the fire himself; and we waited with great attention, but the fire continued till all was burned up, with your almighty God himself and with all the fine things about him. Since that time I have never held to that religion, but regard the sun and moon much more, as being better than all your Gods are; for they warm the earth and cause the fruits to grow, when your lovely Gods cannot preserve themselves from the fire. In the whole country I know no more than one Indian who is firm in his religious profession, nor can any change be expected among them, as long as matters are permitted to remain as heretofore. If they are to be brought over to the Christian faith, then the public hand must be extended to them and continued; we must establish good schools at convenient places among them, for the instruction of their children; let them learn to write our catechism, and let them be thoroughly instructed in the fundamental principles of our

religion, so that in process of time they may be enabled to instruct each other and become attached thereto. It certainly would be attended with some trouble and expense to the government, still, without such means and measures, it will be difficult to do any good among them. Our negligence on those matters is very reprehensible, for the Indians themselves say that they are very desirous to have their children instructed in our language and religion.

Of their hope after this present life.

It is a wonderful truth which affords strong evidence against unbelievers and free-thinkingspirits, that this barbarous wild race of people of whom we have treated, should know that there is a distinction between the body and the soul, and believe, as they actually do, that the one is perishable and the other immortal. The soul, they say, is that spirit which directs all the actions of the body, and is the producing cause of all good and evil conduct, which, when the body dies, separates from it and removes to a place towards the south, where the climate is so fine that no covering against the cold will be necessary, and where the heat will never be troublesome. To this place the souls of all those who have been good and valuable in this life will go, where they will be satisfied and have an abundance of good things, without any trouble or labour for the same, forever; and they who have been bad in this life, after death will go to another place, where their condition will be directly contrary to the first; where they will never enjoy peace and contentment, as the good will do. But I have never been able rightly to discover whether they believe the soul will be hereafter united to the body. I have, however, spoken with Christians who remark, that they have heard them state such to be their belief. But they do not affirm to this fact. When they hear voices or noises in the woods at night, which frequently happens, and which, we believe, usually proceed from wild animals, but which they declare, with fear and astonishment, are made by the wicked, the souls of whom are thus doomed to wander at night in the woods and solitary places for punishment in unhappy situations. The Indians, because they fear those subjects, do not travel by night unless it be necessary, and then go in parties or companies; when they go alone they always carry a fire-brand with them, with which they believe they can keep off those evil spirits and prevent them from doing them any injury, which, they say, are always disposed to frighten them and do them wrong. They acknowledge also that the soul proceeds from God, and that the same is his gift. This we sometimes learn

from their old men of understanding, when an opportunity presents itself in conversation, and we probably would discover more of them in relation to this matter, if we did perfectly understand their languages. Among their common or young people we do not hear those spoken of. In this we still see the providence of God, who, by the common light of nature, has given to this people the knowledge that there is, after this life, a reward for the just, and a punishment for the unjust, which all mankind may expect.

Of their knowledge of God, and their fear of the devils.

Although the original inhabitants of the New-Netherlands be heathen and are unbelievers, they however believe and acknowledge that there is a God in heaven from all eternity, who is almighty. But they say God is good, kind, and compassionate, who will not punish or do any injury to any person, and therefore takes no concern himself in the common affairs of the world, nor does he meddle with the same, except that he has ordered the devil to take care of those matters. For they say that all which happens to persons on the earth, is ordered and directed by the devil as he pleases. God, the chief of all, who dwells in heaven, is much greater and higher than the devil, over whom he has power, but he will not meddle in, or trouble himself with, those concerns.

When, on those subjects, we answer them conclusively, that the devil is deceitful and wicked; they acknowledge it to be true, and that he to the extent of his power, directs such matters in the most wicked and injurious ways (wherein he takes pleasure). They say that all accidents, infirmities and diseases, are sent and forced upon them by the devil, to whom they ascribe it by the common name, saying that the devil is in them, and is the cause of all their misfortunes and ailments. For instance, if they have any inward complaint, they say there is a devil in me; if they have a defect in arm or leg, foot, or hand; shoulder or in the head; they devote the part, and say there is a devil in the same. And because he is so unkind to them, they must, whether they be willing or not, fear him, and preserve his friendship, and sometimes (as before related) cast a piece to him into the fire. Where we refute those follies, by saying that God knows all things, and is almighty, and has a perfect knowledge of the devil, and observes his conduct, and will not permit him to rule over man, who is created in the image of God, and is the noblest part of the creation; nor will the devil be permitted to tyrannize over man, provided they will rightly confide and trust in God, and not withdraw from his commandments to do evil;

then they repay us, with strange and fabulous replies, saying—"You lazy Dutchmen say so, and when we observe the matter outwardly it would appear to be true—what you say; but in fact you do not understand the matter. That God, who is the highest good, almighty and gracious, and Lord of heaven and earth, in whom all power is, exists in heaven, but not alone, and without pastime; for he has there with him a goddess, a female person, the most beautiful ever known and beheld. With this goddess or beautiful person, he is so much engrossed, that the time is passed away and forgotten. Meantime the devil plays the tyrant and does what he pleases."

This belief and feeling is deeply impressed in them, and when we with stronger reasons sift the subject and drive them from their positions, they fall into more abominable absurdities, and like the dogs return to their vomit, and say they must serve the devil because he has the power to do them injuries.

Their Opinions of the Creation, &c.

From the young Indians who frequent our settlements, and continue somewhat wild, we cannot derive any certain information of their belief on these matters; but we must have recourse to their aged men of understanding, when we desire to know their belief on those important subjects.

It sometimes happens when we enter into a curious discourse with them, that they ask us our opinions on the origin of man, and how they came to this country; and when we inform them in broken language of the creation of Adam, they cannot believe, or will not understand relative to their people and the negroes, on account of their great difference and the inequality of colour. According to their opinion the world was not created as described in the first and second chapters of the book of Genesis; but they say the world was before all mountains, men and animals; that God then was with that beautiful woman, who now is with him, without knowing when or from whence they came. then was all water, or the water covered all; and they add that if there had been any eyes in being, there was nothing but water to be seen, and nothing else visible in every direction.

It happened at this period, they say, that the before mentioned beautiful woman or goddess, gradually descended from heaven, even into the water, gross or corpulent like a woman, who apparently would bring forth more than one child. Having gradually settled into the water, she did not go under it; but immediately at the place where she descended, some land appeared under her, whereon she remained sitting. This land increased, and in time became greater and dry around the place where

she sat ; like one who is placed on a bar, whereon the water is three or four feet deep, which by the ebbing of the tide becomes dry land.

Thus they say and mean to be understood, it occurred with this descended goddess. And that the land became of greater extent around her, until its extent was unbounded to the sight, when vegetation appeared ; and in time fruitful and unfruitful trees began to grow throughout the world as it now appears. Whether the world of which you speak originated at this time, we cannot say.

At this period of time, when those things had taken place and were accomplished, this great person was overtaken in labour. and brought forth three distinct and different creatures. The first was like a deer as those now are, the second like a bear, and the third like a wolf in every respect. The woman suckled those animals to maturity, and remained a considerable time upon the earth, cohabiting with those several animals, and bringing forth at every birth more than one of a different species and appearance ; from which have originated and proceeded all the human beings, animals and creatures, of every description and species, as the same now are and appear ; being propagated according to nature, each in their peculiar order, as the same are in succession continued.

When all those subjects were brought to a state of perfection, and could continue, this common mother rejoiced greatly, and ascended up to heaven, where she will continue to remain and dwell, enjoying pleasure, and subsist in goodness and love, which her upper Lord will afford her, for which she is particularly desirous, and God also loves her supremely above all things.

Here on the earth, in the meanwhile, the human species, and the animals after their kind, have multiplied and produced so many different creatures, and increased exceedingly : which every other thing that was created also does, as the same at present is seen. Therefore it is at this time, that all mankind, wherever they be, are always born with the nature of one or the other of the aforesaid animals. They are timid and innocent like the deer ; they are brave, revengeful, and just of hand, like the bear ; or they are deceitful and blood-thirsty like the wolves. Although their dispositions are apparently somewhat changed, this they attribute to the subtlety of men, who know how to conceal their wicked propensities.

This, they say, is all they have learned from their fathers on the subject of the Creation ; which has been handed down to them, and which they believe to be true. And they add if they had been able to write as you are, they would have transmitted

and left us all the particulars on these matters, which they could not do, because they know not the art of writing.

Here, esteemed reader, you have all, both general and particular, that was worth writing, concerning the manners, opinions, and acts of the Indians in the New-Netherlands, which I could discover, and also which any of our Christians from the discovery of the country, could ascertain from them ; and although much is fabulous and contrary to truth, I have nevertheless committed the same to writing. The more discerning (and I have heard some of them philosophize on the matter) take a more extensive view, and have high speculations, and know, as we say, with Virgil, how to extract gold from the filth of Euvius.*

* Probably a misprint for *Ennius*. But Virgil does not mention his indebtedness to Ennius, whom another Roman poet describes as *ingenio maximus, arte rudis*.—ED.

OF THE BEAVER.

UNDER the title of the wild animals of the New-Netherlands, we remain indebted for a description of the uncommon and natural habits of the beavers. Having said much of the manners and customs of the natives, we will in this place fulfil our promise on the subject of the beaver. This animal has attracted many persons to the country. We will begin by stating the opinions of the ancient and later writers on the beaver, and by following the truth show how far they have wandered from it on this matter.

Pliny, the great naturalist, in his XXXII Book, Chap. 3, says that the limbs of the beaver, whereby he means the *testicles*, are very useful for many purposes in medicine. And that the animals when sought by the hunters for their tests, and when closely pursued, would castrate themselves with their teeth and leave the parts for the hunters, which the creatures knew to be the prize sought after. This most of the old naturalists and physicians believed to be true; although some denied the same, still they held that the beaver cods, which they named castorium, possessed many medicinal virtues.

They write that the beavers could bite very sharp; that they could fell trees as if cut with an axe. Olaus and Albertus remark on their carrying of wood for their houses. They also state that the beavers' tails are very long, and that that part is fish; that beavers will attack men and bite them severely, with many other things differing widely from the truth. Hence it may be inferred, that neither of them have ever seen a beaver, but have related their uncertain propositions upon the credit of ignorant, unlettered persons. We may give credit to their declarations, when they relate that they used beaver flesh and cods for medicines. This was their art; the virtue of the specific lay in the faith of the patients, which they saw suited their designs.

We will now relate in connection the disorders for which they say the medicines prepared from beaver testicles were infallible remedies. The smelling of beaver-cods will produce sneezing and cause sleep—connected with the oil of roses and hogslard, and rubbed on the head of a drowsy person, it will produce wakefulness. Taken in water, it serves to remove idiocy. The sleeping are awakened by rubbing with cod oil. Two quarts of the oil, mixed with polay-water, will restore the menses to women, and remove the second birth. Beaver oil is good for dizziness, for trembling, for the rheumatism, for lameness, for the pain in the stomach, and for apoplexy, when the stomach is greased with it. Again, when taken inwardly, it removes

the falling sickness and stoppages in the body, pain in the bowels, and poison. It cures the tooth-ache; dropped in the ear, it cures the ear-ache. Tingling and rustling in the ears is cured by a few drops of *Macolim* sap. Beaver oil, mixed with the best honey and rubbed on the eyes, restores the sharpness of sight. Beaver water is an antidote for all poisons, but to preserve it good it must be kept in the bladder. Those who have the gout, should wear slippers and shoes made of beaver skins.

After relating all those things we will proceed to an accurate description of the beaver, as we have found and known the animal. And that none may believe that I treat upon a subject which is unknown to me, the reader will please observe that in the New-Netherlands, and in the adjacent country, about eighty thousand beavers have been killed annually, during my residence of nine years in the country. I have frequently eaten beaver flesh, and have raised and kept their young. I have also handled and exchanged many thousand skins.

A beaver is a four footed animal that feeds on vegetables, and keeps in water and on land, coated with fur and hair, short-legged, quick, timid and subtle, and commonly as thick as it is long. The Greek name of this animal is *castor*, the Latin is *eyber*,* the Dutch is *beever*. The other names by which it is known in Europe, are mostly derived from the foregoing. It has feet like the otter, or like other wild and tame creatures which keep on land.

The food of the beaver is not, as some suppose, fish and prey like the otter's; to which end the beaver has been described and delineated with a fish in its mouth, and to be part fish and part flesh. It feeds on the bark of several kinds of wood, on roots, rushes and greens, which it finds in the woods, fields and bushes, near the water sides. The kinds of bark whereon it feeds, are of the water willow, birch, and maple trees, which grow plentifully near the water sides, and of all other trees, which are not sour or bitter to the taste, which they dislike.

The beavers keep, (as is said, which is true,) in the water and on land; therefore they may be named land and water animals, but they are mostly on the dry land, and get most of their food on land, consisting of bark and herbage. The wood and grass used in the construction of their house are got on the land; they remain whole nights on land, and they cannot live and remain long under the water, particularly when they are chased and fatigued. In the water they obtain a scanty subsistence from the bark of roots of trees which extend into the water from the margin of the water courses, and the weeds and bushes which grow in some places, but mostly on the margin of the water. The true and certain reason why the beavers keep so

* Misprint for *fiber*.—Ed.

much in the water arises from their natural timidity, which is supported by the testimony of the great beaver catchers. Being naturally timid, the creature can best preserve and secure itself much better and easier in the water than on land. To that end, as will be detailed hereafter, they construct their abodes over the water, having apertures in the lower stories that communicate with the water, from which they can readily retreat under water to places of safety, which they have always prepared near their houses; these consist of a hollow or hole entwining under water from the side of the stream whereon their houses are erected and ascending under the bank, into which they retreat on the approach of danger—wherein they seem to be so safe and secure that no person can molest them.

The beaver's skin is rough, but very thickly set with fine wool (fur) of an ash grey colour, inclining to blue. The outward points also incline to a russet or brown colour. From the beaver fur, or wool, the best hats are made that are worn, which are named beavers or castoreums, after the materials from which the same are made, being at present known over all Europe. Outside of the coat of fur many shining hairs appear, which are called wind hairs, that more properly are winter hairs, for those fall out in summer and appear again in the fall. This outer coat is of a chestnut brown colour—the browner the better—it sometimes will be somewhat reddish. When hats are made of the fur, the rough hairs are plucked out, being useless. The skins usually are first sent to Russia (Muscovy) where they are highly esteemed for the outside shining hair, and on that their greatest recommendation depends with the Russians. There the skins are used for mantle linings, and are also cut into stripes for borders, as we cut the rabbit skins. Therefore we name the same *peltries*. Whoever there has the most and costliest fur trimmings is esteemed the greatest, as with us, the finest stuffs and gold and silver embroidery are considered the appendages of the great. After the hairs have fallen out, or are worn, and the peltries become old and dirty, and apparently useless, we get the articles back and convert the fur into hats, before which it cannot be well used for this purpose, for unless the beaver has been worn and is greasy and dirty, it will not felt properly—therefore those old peltries are most valuable. The coats which the Indians make of beaver skins, and have worn a long time around their bodies, until the same have become foul with sweat and grease—those afterwards are used by the hatters and make the best hats. They also work it with the combed wool or fur (which is so called) because the beaver skins before the same are sent to Russia are combed, by which process much of the fur is taken out of the long hair (or wind hair) with a comb—this is also worked with the peltry fur, after its return from Russia.

The beavers have very short legs, appearing as if there were no middle bones, and when they run, their legs are scarcely observable, and appear as if their feet were joined to their bodies, with which they move. Their claws or paws are bare and blackish, with strong, brown nails, bound with a thick, strong skin, like swans' feet, which they resemble, but are not so broad, being shorter before than behind. The hinder part of the body is short, much like that of a goose or swan. The forefeet (as the creature has a short neck, or is almost without a neck, the head being near the shoulders) stand near the head, therefore when they run, which they do with great activity, their whole body appears to touch the ground and appears to be too heavy for their small short legs : but far from it, they are well provided by nature with strong sinews and muscles and are very strong.

The beavers are so quick, that they not only can run wonderfully over the earth, when we consider their formation, avoiding men and dogs ; but in the water they seem as active as fishes. Therefore the Indians must take them in traps ; or when they lay in their burrows in the earth, they know how to take and kill them with long rammers (which have lances affixed at the ends) inserted at the holes of their burrows. That the beavers according to the meaning of Olaus Magnus and Albertus, will be inclined to bite and wound persons dreadfully, is a mistake ; for it is a timid creature, which seeks to preserve itself by flight if possible, and as it has a sharp scent and hearing, we seldom happen to see it on the land. Nor will it ever keep near man like the otters, which the latter sometimes do. The beavers keep in deep swamps, at the waters and morasses, where no settlements are. Still when they are beset and bitten by dogs, they can defend themselves very well, and do great injury to a common dog, when they take hold of the same with their foreteeth ; but as to their attacking men with violence, it is erroneous. I have seen and conversed with hundreds of beaver hunters, but have never known more than one who had been bitten by a beaver in his shoulder and received a bad wound. This happened when the hunter's dog and a beaver were striving for the mastery, and the hunter stooped down to help his dog ; when the beaver missing the dog probably, in terror and misery, bit the hunter in his shoulder.

That the beavers are subtle animals appears by the construction of their houses, and in rearing their young, which we will presently relate, with their continual watch, which they keep to prevent surprise and being taken ; which, we are informed, they keep at every house, for the beavers commonly have six or seven in a family in every house, at which they in turn keep watch. It is certain that when it freezes hard, which it fre-

quently does where the most and best beavers resort, there always sits one, not as *Albertus* and *Magnus* assert, with half of the body in the water (for this would be impossible in severe frost). The beaver can keep above water without pain, which they nevertheless on the contrary feel; but I assert that one of the family always sits near the running water, for they always build on running waters, that with the striking of their tails they keep it open; the noise of which resembles the continual striking of a person with his flat hand, by which means they prevent the freezing of the water and keep it open. This is not done because, as the doctors say, they cannot remain out of water without pain, but to keep the entrance of the houses open, so that they can seek food, and in case of danger, that they can readily with little difficulty retreat to their strongholds, which they always have near their houses under the banks of the water courses.

The form of a beaver resembles the shape of a cucumber which has a short stem, or a duck that has the neck and head cut off, or like a ball of yarn wound in long form and flattened a little, being often thicker than long, or like a swine which is flat on the back, with its belly hanging down. The dead beaver resembles a dead mole which is somewhat flattened with the foot.

When full grown, the skins are about an ell long and an ell broad; they are not round, but frequently nearly square. From this size up to five quarters, the skins are merchantable---they are seldom larger. From December to the first of June, the skins are good, and then they are killed. The fall skins have the winter hairs in part, with very little fur. The summer skins and those taken from ungrown beavers are of little value. Still the Indians kill all they find when they are hunting.

Their houses, as *Sextius*, *Albertus*, and *Olaus* say, they construct always over a running stream, with several stories, four, five, or more, above each other, of curious workmanship, and worthy of speculation. Every apartment and story in their houses is made perfectly tight with wood, grass and clay to the top, which keeps out the rain. They lodge in those houses in whole families, and parts of families, and break out like bees, with their increase when disturbed. The wood used in the construction of their houses is of the soft kind, such as maple, pine, white-wood, &c. which they find laying along the water courses. When this supply is insufficient, they have recourse to the nearest trees, which is done as follows. When a beaver intends to fell a tree, it selects one of a proper size, of about six inches diameter, the bark of which is not bad tasted. The beaver then begins cutting with its front teeth, of which it has two in the upper and two in the lower jaw; very strong and about half

an inch long, more or less, according to its age. Those teeth are yellow on the outside. When this is scraped off and taken inwardly, it will cure the jaundice. With those teeth, which are common to the squirrels and other animals, they commence gnawing, making a cut of about a hand's breadth or more around the tree, which they work at until the tree falls, and then the ends resemble the turned whip-tops used by children. Whether they look up when the tree falls, to observe its direction, I have never heard. But I have seen many trees which had been cut down by the beavers, that had fallen fast against trees that stood near by, that were left by the animals. After a tree has fallen down, they then gnaw off the wood into proper lengths for their work. They carry the wood together, and nearly all the inhabitants of the New-Netherlands know that many skins are sold from which the outside wind hairs are worn off on the back, which are called wood-carriers' skins, because they carried wood for the construction of their houses; this is not done as the ancients relate, between their legs, as upon a sled or waggon; but the Indians who have seen the beavers labour, have frequently told me, that after the wood is cut off and ready for removal, the female places herself under the piece to be removed, which the male and the young ones support on her back to the place where it is used. In this manner every stick is carried. That the carrier is dragged by its tail with the wood, lying on its back, by the other beavers, is a fabulous tale. The tail of a beaver is not large and long, as the ancients remark. The largest are not larger and broader than a man's hand, without the thumb. Their tails also are tender and would not bear pulling by the same with the sharp teeth of another beaver.

The beaver tails are flatish, without hair, coated with a skin which appears as if set with fish scales, and when chopped up with the flesh of the beaver, it is a delicate food, and is always preserved for the Emperor's table, whenever a beaver is caught in Germany, which seldom happens. The beaver tails excel all other flesh taken on land and in the water. Wherefore the Indians deem it a special favour to permit us to partake with them of a part of a beaver's tail; and they will seldom part with any beaver flesh. The most of the settlers in the New-Netherlands have never tasted it—but the best and most excellent part of a beaver is its tail. The Indians will seldom part with it, unless on an extraordinary occasion as a present.

The beaver like the swine goes with young sixteen weeks; they bear once a year and in summer, some earlier than others, and have four in a litter, except at the first, when they sometimes have but two or three. The young beavers, whenever they are brought forth, cry like children, so that a person coming to a place where there is a young beaver, if he did not know to

the contrary, would suppose a child was at hand. The beavers have two paps between the fore-legs at the breast, resembling the paps of a woman, and no more. She suckles her young sitting and permits two to suckle at the same time, like children standing at the breast. Meanwhile the others lay, as if they were crying, in their nest—they are suckled in turn. A young beaver is a beautiful creature; is easily raised and will become as tame as a dog, and will feed on any food, like cats, except flesh and fish, which they will eat when boiled. When they are taken very young they require milk, which they readily learn to suck from a rag-teat, out of a horn. They are gentle to handle as a young dog, and will not get cross or bite. When grown they are fond of the water, and will sport and play in a stream with astonishing agility; and if they are not confined in locked waters, by going into streams every day they stroll away and become wild, and do not return again, like the deer, which also can be made very tame.

The doctors of medicine, as before related, ascribe many medicinal virtues to the beaver cods, which they name castorium. Aristotle, Pliny, and the writers of those days meant that the beavers seldom castrated themselves. But *Olaus Magnus*, *Agricola*, *Albertus*, and *Sextius* have not admitted this, but say much fraud was practised in the sale of beaver-cods, which is evident. And as I have been at great pains to arrive at a certainty on this subject, for which purpose I have not only examined many Indians carefully, who were most acquainted with the matter, but have also with my own hands opened many beavers, which I have examined curiously; the result of which, friendly reader, on this occasion will not be withheld from you.

I have heard, that for medicinal purposes, small kegs of dried and salted cods have been shipped to be sold by druggists, but for the most those were beaver kidneys, dugs, or not the real castor cods, therefore the article did not sell well. Several persons also have left the New-Netherlands for Holland, who took with them, as they supposed, the real cods, which they had obtained from the Indians; but on their arrival, they were found to be a spurious article. Having heard of this several times, my curiosity became excited, and I even doubted whether I had seen real castor cods. All I had seen were round, some larger than others, but as long as they hung to smoke or dry, the fat dropped out as from pork hung in the sun. Finally I observed one somewhat long, like a preserved pear, shrivelled and a little musky. This I presented to an experienced physician in the New-Netherlands, who pronounced it to be a true beaver cod, of the proper kind, and as the article should be. It happened at this time that beavers were found not far from my residence, and several were brought to me by the Indian hunters, unopened

and fresh; these I opened and examined with great care for the real castor cods, but to no purpose. I found deep in the body, under the *os pubis*, or *eys* bone, small ballats like a *fleur-de-lis*, which in Holland were pronounced spurious. At last, a discreet Indian hunter, who had assisted me in my experimental dissections, after I had represented to him that the subjects sought for were flattish, and in form somewhat resembled a pear, advised the opening of a female beaver. We took in hand a female which was with young, to see how the young lay; upon which I found against the back bone two *testiculos*, of the form which I sought after, flattish like some pears, resembling young calves' *tests*, and yellowish, covered with a tolerable tough fleece or skin. I took them out, and for further certainty and assurance, that it was a female beaver, I removed four young from the body. After some time I presented those testicles to the doctor before mentioned, at the Governor's house, before much company. The doctor and all present pronounced the articles real beaver testicles. After I had related to them the whole procedure, they were amazed, but adhered to their first opinion, and that the same were the real beaver castor cods. Afterwards I have opened more beavers with the like result; therefore, without prejudice to the feelings of any person, I am decidedly of opinion, that the real *castorium* is found in the females and not in the males. The round balls of the males the Indians carve fine, and suck much with their tobacco:---it is healthy and well tasted. The fat or pork around the body of a beaver is frequently two or three fingers thick, of which the Indians are very fond. It resembles fed pork. The tails are great delicacies. The Indians always burn the beaver bones, and never permit their dogs to gnaw the same; alleging that afterwards they will be unlucky in the chase.

The beavers are usually all of the same colour; a few are a little browner than others. Among all the beaver skins I have seen, no more than one was of a different colour, and that was white. The outer *wind-hairs* were golden yellow. This skin was shipped on board the ship *Princess*, with Director Kieft, which was lost at sea.

A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

A PATRIOT AND A NEW-NETHERLANDER,

UPON THE

ADVANTAGES WHICH THE COUNTRY PRESENTS TO SETTLERS, &c.

My worthy friend :—I have heretofore embraced several opportunities and read with attention the particular description of the natural formation of the New-Netherlands, and of the appearance and customs of the country, and have arrived at the conclusion that a burgher, farmer, or mechanic, and all other persons, can gain a comfortable subsistence in that country. I have, however, long desired to know your opinion in relation to other subjects connected with the settlement of that country, and therefore request your answers to the following propositions :—

First.—Whether it would be of any service to this city, if the said country arrived at a flourishing condition, and wherein those advantages would consist and be continued.

Secondly.—If there should be a great increase of population and riches in the country, whether the land presents situations for defence against an enemy, or robbers, by the construction of fortifications ?

Thirdly.—Whether the country presents proper situations for commerce and at what places, and in what articles we could trade to advantage ; and, in short, please to state the subjects in connection and solve the same according to your own reflections ?

New-Netherlander. Although I am not as well informed on the subjects of inquiry as I would wish to be, still I will endeavour to answer your propositions. And first :—whether it would be of service to this city, if New-Netherlands were flourishing ? I answer, yes—for the following reasons—or to

come closer to your question, the advantages which this city may derive from that country are as follow :—

First.—If difficulties should arise with Spain, (which God forbid!) there then is no place in the world better situated, from which to strike at the heart and vitals of that nation, than from the New-Netherlands, where we have all things together, such as provisions, ship-timber, plank, knees, masts, &c., that are necessary to equip our ships, in abundance. Whenever we desire to improve those advantages, we can do so without molestation.

Secondly.—If it should happen that iron, timber, ashes, grain, and other articles which we now receive from the east, should fall short, the deficiencies can be supplied from the New-Netherlands in abundance, if we encourage and advance the settlement of the country, without which it is worth nothing.

Thirdly.—By so doing we shall always have a free and unobstructed commerce to and fro, and enjoy a free and profitable trade with the Lords' colony, from and to their own country, which in time will increase so much as now is deemed incredible. We see how much the trade has advanced in two or three years since we have encouraged the settlement of the country, and by going on from year to year, the gain will advance proportionally. But more of this upon the third question.

Fourthly.—By pursuing this course and encouraging the population of the country, we could derive formidable assistance from the same in men and means in times of need, which causes all republics to be respected by those who envy their prosperity.

Fifthly.—And as we well know that this country is visited by many people who seek employment, and who always found business; but since the peace, there is not much employment, and there are many persons injuriously idle—hence it certainly appears, that it would be of service to the country to settle another Netherland with the excess of our population, which can be easily done, as a sheet-anchor and support to the state. By this I consider your first question answered.

Patriot. In common I observe some reasons advanced by you; but I have frequently heard persons of understanding say that Spain need not thank herself for her outlandish colonies, because they attract so many persons from home as frequently to create internal troubles and injury, and leave dwellings vacant and neglected. Now we know well, that the most important subjects require most attention—the shirt before the coat. Please to solve me this difficulty.

New-Netherlander. As for Spain, it is certain that without

her outlandish colonies, she would not be as powerful as she is. This is a round O. Still, that her colonies withdraw her population, by which it may follow that many of the poor places in Spain are left uncultivated, all this may be true. But between the advantages of Spain and the United Netherlands this difference is so great that all the reasons which are *contra* there are *pro* here. It would be tedious to enter into detailed reasoning on the subject. To be brief, we consider the countries which lay contiguous to Spain, as Italy, France, and Portugal, as good as Spain itself, where there is abundant employment for vigilant native citizens, who are more frequently consumed and destroyed by wars than with us; but here, around the Netherlands, in Eastland, Germany, Westphalia, Bergland, Walland, &c., from which the people came in numbers to seek employment, and gain a living, as they should do, otherwise this emigration would cease, and the reputation of our country be injured—we could spare from the Netherlands thousands from year to year, and send them abroad without injury; and if ever there should happen to be any defect in our population, this would be supplied from the neighbouring countries. At a word, we could use those people and make them Netherlands. Our neighbours must put up with it, and the people who now go to the New-Netherlands are not lost or destroyed, but are as if they were placed at interest, for we know how fast the population increases.

Patriot. Do you then conclude that the Netherlands are better than the eastern countries of Germany, &c. are?

New-Netherlander. We evidently have not intended to advance this, but when that question occurs, it will solve itself. But that, in the provinces of this city, there are at present (by the goodness of God) more prosperous merchants, manufacturers, mechanics and traders, than in the countries mentioned, is certain; the Hanse towns not excepted—where the bait is, there the eagles gather. The habits of the Netherlands are as favourable to strangers as to native citizens. Thus they are induced to come to us, particularly craftsmen of every profession, who can always find advantageous employment, and in time, by conforming to our customs, become as citizens. Hence I conclude that out of this country we can send as many colonial settlers as Spain can; and one-half more, without missing any man out from the Netherlands. We could increase our strength by so doing; for they who are colonists in the New-Netherlands become Netherlands as well as they do who become burghers here, and remain devoted to us.

Patriot. This I would now begin to understand with you; that the population of this city might not be unserviceable there, but this objection arises. When men of property and fashion

go to that country, which is the case already, where, it is said, something may be gained, and where careful and industrious people flourish and prosper, for such become persons of importance, or at least their descendants do—what certainty can such persons have for themselves, and their property? I mean certainty, without circumstances?

New-Netherlander. I take this well, sir; but this is evidently the sound question which you propounded to me, wherein I have already given you a clear and decisive answer.

Patriot. Not so certain and satisfactory as you suppose. For I consider that to be a country which we have found, which is easy of access by sea and by land, open and unsupplied, or unfurnished with any considerable fortifications. The English and the Indians are strong and numerous around it. The Portuguese and other pirates can easily invade the place on the seaboard, in a short time; for it is easy of access, and near the ocean, and what is more, you well know that our nation is particularly attached to commerce. This I understand to be their principal object. They are industrious as merchants; but to the security of the country they pay but little attention; they trust to the militia, who are few in numbers. In fact I see great danger there, for if we took property to that country, or gained property therein, we are still insecure in our possessions.*

New-Netherlander. Will you be pleased to answer yourself, or refer to previous remarks; then I may be silent; for if I showed you the country, nothing would be gained. And although there may appear to be some reason in your remarks, they lay undistinguished and unconnected, appearing like something, but in truth unfounded.

Patriot. I will frankly admit your explanation under a promise not to prejudice the subject on party grounds, according to your request, for that would be useless argument.

New-Netherlander. You do well, sir; for that is the only way to elicit truth; and if my memory extends far enough, your objections will be answered. What kind of a country the New-Netherlands is, and how its possession was acquired, is fully detailed in the history of its discovery, whereon it is unnecessary to dilate in a particular manner. The West India Company, in connection with others from time to time, have expended many tons of gold in the establishment, and for the security of their colony. It has not been brought to its present situation without much cost and trouble.

You say in the second place, that the country is unprovided with proper fortifications for its defence, and that its seaboard is unprotected, the land sides also. You advance too much. Ob-

* The invasion of Col. Nicholls, in 1664, proves the correctness of the *Patriot's* remarks.—TRANS.

serve, sir, that the South and the North rivers, are *lead-men's* waters,* and for those who are unacquainted, the risk is great and the entries almost impossible. The bars and sand flats frequently shift their positions, and when an enemy has entered, his work is not done, he must come to places where he will find business, and pass forts of considerable strength on advantageous positions, equal to the forts of this country; and by the increase of men and means, as necessity requires, all is safe. The land fortifies itself, and presents positions which can be easily rendered impassable. Sandy Hook, the Highlands, Hell-Gate, and the head lands of the bays, can be rendered impregnable against human skill, whenever it is necessary. Where we have little, we hazard little. He who will take a stiver from another, will not readily hazard two.

Patriot. This is well; but if I could be there, I would not seek your bays and havens, for I have read that the whole coast presents a sand beach. It is not subject to heavy winds from the sea, and has good anchor ground. There I would cast in ground hooks, and attack you in your rear, where you are unprepared. How would that suit you?

New-Netherlander. This is easily said, but impossible to perform. It is true you might with great hazard effect a landing, but your work would not be over, for the whole coast of the New-Netherlands presents double forelands, between which lay broad shallow waters, or there are islands two or three deep; and if you overlook and despise the inside waters, tell me where you will find boats to cross your men over the bays? This is work for madmen. It cannot be done; and if any person would attempt such work of folly, we would know it before a landing was effected from the Indians who watch the seashore, and are rewarded for giving intelligence whenever ships appear on the coast.

Patriot. But what do you say of Long Island?

New-Netherlander. There also nothing can be done; for Long Island has double fore-lands nearly its whole length; and admit that you were upon it, how would you get off? and what would it benefit you? Nothing but damage and great danger. If there was to be anything done, it must be at New-Amsterdam. If you now answer, I would be there; I place before your nose, first that you can hardly get there, on account of your ignorance of the navigable waters. We would always know it a day or two before hand. The Hook and the head lands will be fortified, and what is more, without passing under the cannon of Fort Amsterdam, you cannot get there, whereon there are so many cannon mounted, that I am of opinion the half will not be required to repel any invading foe for fifty years to come.

*That is, requiring the aid of a *loadsman*, or pilot.—ED.

Patriot. Very good. All this appears favourable against an outward invasion from the sea ; but you have the Indians within, and the English are numerous on either side. You know very well how dangerous it is to have such powerful and ticklish neighbours. What do you say to this ?

New-Netherlander. As for the native Indians they need not be feared. They may terrify a stranger or a new comer. Read the History of the New-Netherlands, under the title of their Wars, you will find no organized regiments, companies, or regular military force, they are impatient under restraint, and cannot effect much. The last war we had with them, when we were not half as strong as we now are, they remember so well that they will not readily begin again. When we speak of the beginning of the troubles with them, there was little fault on their side ; still it is done and past. But respecting the English, that subject deserves deep reflection, and presents difficulties and dangers, and I assure you that we of the New-Netherlands are not so proud as to be easily enticed, nor do we desire to get into difficulties or war with those of Virginia or of New-England.

Patriot. Get into quarrels, man ! we would anxiously desire to avoid the same. But you can no longer have rest or peace, unless your neighbours agree with you in the same opinion.

New-Netherlander. This does not appear clear, nor do I know how the matter stands between you and them ; but I have read, and understand that it is not always wise *not* to justify yourself in necessary cases, and at once to call the party to account. This should be done, unless intercession follows, when we may for various reasons effect our purpose, before a third party plays. I would refer you to many historical examples, to prove this position, but because they all agree in the same conclusion, and as those are tender and delicate matters, (for good reasons) we pass them over and return to the New-Netherlands. To satisfy you on this subject. The Virginians can do nothing unless they come by sea. Their account is answered already. A land march presents insurmountable difficulties. The people of New-England are much stronger than we are ; but that it will suit them better than it will us to enter into unnecessary disputes, is a matter I do not profess to know, seeing they possess a country wherein commerce must prosper, which they cannot pursue to advantage southward of Cape Cod without passing our channel within Long Island. Again, they lie open along the coast above one hundred miles, without forts, soldiers, or armaments for their security. Their planters and inhabitants are trained for defence against the Indians, for which they are sufficient ; and if we suffer any affront from them, they must know that we, with few men, and less than we can spare in New-Netherlands for the purpose, in small parties, can ransack their

whole country, seeing they lie widely dispersed in small defenceless villages contiguous to the woods, which may be surprised and destroyed by night, and the parties again retire in safety through the woods; so that I do not fear them much. Nor would they trouble us without an express command of Parliament, which will not be readily given, as in so doing open war with England would follow, which they desire as little here as we do there. You may not incline to believe that the people of New-England are not madmen. Can you discern that it is not their interest to give offence, or to war against us? Not that I ascribe all this to their good will; but their interest and advantage bind them to peace. Danger and difficulties lie in a contrary course.

As for the Portuguese and pirates spoken of, there is little to be feared from them. The difficulties already stated are a protection against such invaders. But admit that a pirate entered with a sloop in disguise—what would it amount to? The place would be his grave before he could do any injury. Without an army no danger need be apprehended.

Our national character is well known. They delight in commerce. It is apparent in their habits. But mark, sir, the difference between national governments. Where is the government on earth which is inclined to do more by art and money, to fortify and secure their country than the Netherlanders are? There are no people under the sun as liberal for such purposes as our nation. Still it must be well financiered. Every one enjoys the freedom to talk about it, when it frequently would be better to let it alone. But to speak freely of the New-Netherlands before persons in power there, it would be proper to have authority from their superiors here for that purpose; and then we must commonly observe how their humour leads, and take the proper time to have our requisition answered. The same is also frequently practised here, though this is, *salva et integrare*, thus spoken. But in instances of immediate need, we must on the occasion make and found the law. And herewith, sir, I trust that your firm conclusions are somewhat weakened.

Patriot. Since now, though not willingly, I admit that the dangers are not so great as was supposed by me, we will therefore drop that subject, and speak of the commerce; and tell me, at once, how that is to be supported in time by the population?

New-Netherlander. It is a pleasure to me to have satisfied you thus far. Upon the fourth proposition you will receive contentment.

Patriot. Places which will suit us must possess convenient situations for trade; otherwise they will not please us, although the territory be ever so great. In Germany, under the Electors

of Brandenburg, in the Palatine, and other places near at hand, there is land and territory enough ; but that amounts to nothing, as they possess few places for trade, and therefore the countries cannot prosper.

New-Netherlander. We must look to commerce, and there we can have it; and that which at present is carried on in the New-Netherlands, consists mostly in grain, as wheat, rye, peas, barley, &c., and in pork, beef, fish, beer and wine, and what is necessary for families, for the back and the belly. All other things are plenty, which, with the commerce of navigable streams, of which we will treat, quantities are sent to the islands in the West Indies, with which we have long since assisted the islands ; and as the population increases, the productions will increase. The settlers who now come to the country raise their own provisions in the second year, and in the third year they have a surplus, which they exchange for wares and tobacco. They who can import articles, find many kinds of peltries, such as beaver skins, otters, bears, elk and deer skins, &c., as may be seen in the History of the country. The planting of vineyards is progressing, and in time will be of importance. So also are the outland fisheries. If a hundred ship loads are required, the fish are there during the whole winter. Train oil can be made at the South bays, where whales are plenty.

Item. Timber, hemp, tar, ashes, and iron, &c., as treated of in the History, can be had there. But on leaving this subject, I will advance those reasons as I progress.

First.—It is now about fifteen years since the New-Netherlands has in earnest begun to be settled by freemen. In that time we have endured a destructive war, otherwise it would have been double to what it now is. For that which before had been done by the company, except the fortifications and a few houses, of little importance, the residue was destroyed in the war. Until now few people of property have emigrated to the country. All who went over would gain much and bring nothing, except the merchants, who brought something, but carried much more away, which is common. Thus in new countries at the first, there are few churchmasters but persons who anoint their own breast, and are careless about the means and the latter end, and regardless of the common good, worthy citizens not included. Still there are without deception many good men, who love orderly behaviour, and have erected good dwellings.

Item. Many fine farms, plantations, pasturages, grain fields, gardens and orchards, with many fine cattle ; and if the land was not good, how could such things be there ? From that which is not good, nothing extraordinary can be derived.

Secondly.—If we say yes to those things that cost the parties, the Company and others money enough, then we answer, that

here never has been sent as much to New-Netherlands as has been taken from it with interest. This you may deem strange, because there are so many accounts in arrears. But I do not say that the returns have been recived by their proper owners ; for then I would speak contrary to my better knowledge. Consider what quantities of peltries were purloined from the company, before the trade was thrown open, that may be best known by comparing the quantities then accounted for with the present shipments, although now the whole is not reported. After the trade has been free, little has been lost. All those who have knowledge on the subject know that the faith-penny which has been gained on the company's goods never came into their coffers, while all losses fell upon them. They also paid unnecessary and extravagant monthly wages to those who defrauded them, and made good cheer every where, whereby they did themselves little good ; for it will go as it came. Yet I will add that much has been gained in New-Netherlands which is not seen, because much has been fooled away, or has been brought over here, where persons fare well with it ; still it has at first come from that country, or been gained upon its productions.

Thirdly.—The country is well calculated and possesses the necessaries for a profitable trade. First, it is a fine fruitful country. Secondly, it has fine navigable rivers extending far inland, by which the productions of the country can be brought to places of traffic. The Indians, without our labour or trouble, bring to us their fur trade, worth tons of gold, which may be increased, and is like goods found. To which may be added the grain and provision trade, which we proudly enjoy.

Fourthly.—The country is so convenient to the sea, that its value is enhanced by its situation. On the northeast, within four or five days sail, lay the valuable fishing banks.

Item. Canada and New-England will bring a profitable inland trade. On the southwest we have Virginia, which affords us a profitable tobacco trade with the Floridas, the Bahamas, and the other continent and West India islands, upon which reliance may be made.

Patriot. But by the treaty of peace those ports and harbours are shut against us on every side. You cannot expect business in such places.

New-Netherlander. I acknowledge this, and believe, also, as all our merchants have seen, what profit our country would have derived, if those ports had not been shut, and how advantageously the West India Company would have been placed, if the shutting up of those places had not been consented to. Our trade should have extended to those places.

Patriot. Oh, sir, you err ; that subject was not neglected. We did enough for it, but it would not take. The subject was attended to.

New-Netherlander. Attended to? I have nothing against it; but the King of Spain was so situated that he could not have avoided the privilege, if we had abstained from his views, and insisted on the right; at least, he might have been subjected to allow the *taliter qualiter*, with Spanish commissions to trade. In time we would have got on well enough in the business. At present it affords no prospect of successful enterprise. Still the country remains. In New-Netherlands we have good courage, that when we have a more powerful population, we will be able to drive on a profitable trade by commissions or otherwise to those places. We have the means, and they cannot easily hinder us. The island of Guraloa [Curacoa] belongs to New-Netherlands and lies within eight miles of Carthage, on the main land, and in sight of the same. In addition to this, we have the advantageous trade of the Caribbee Islands, which will increase as our power increases. Hence we have nothing to fear, although timid persons may have heavy minds about us, and say, after we have produced many articles, where will you shift and vend the same? Lastly, what will hinder the New-Netherlanders? Can they not visit France, Spain, Portugal, and the whole Mediterranean, as well from thence as from this country, when they have men and means? which two things their unfailing population will produce, if no more emigrate to the country. In such a case their own increase would in time be sufficient. The land, in process of time, will cover those advantages.

Patriot. I will readily tell you what will obstruct and place hinderances in the way—the distance from those places; for if you have not the articles necessary for negotiation, then you cannot send them and exchange for consumption, as we can from this country.

New-Netherlander. It is true, sir, we provide now too far ahead, but the distance cannot support your positions; for we can from thence sail with one wind and come through a free and open sea, without the danger of shoals or enemies, and navigate the whole outer coast of Europe from Ireland to the Straits, without uncommon hinderances, in four weeks or less. Hence then is little difference—what you gain in the one, you lose in the other.

In conclusion, a country like the New-Netherlands, possessing such advantages for commerce, and that of and within itself, and abounding with articles for commerce beyond its own wants, which it can spare—when attention is paid to the subject and the same be properly directed, will it not prosper? Judge for yourself.

Patriot. It does not appear strange to me, and we would not do wrong, in taking proper measures to advance the pros-

perity of that land, but more of this on another occasion. At present I deem my inquiries answered. In time I may think further upon the matter, and renew my inquiries.

New-Netherlander. That must then be done in the New-Netherlands, for my departure is at hand, and I have now no leisure to enjoy your company.

Patriot. Return, then, to that country, with good will, and may you find the same as you expect.

New-Netherlander. With the help of God, my hope and design is such, and thus I take my leave and departure.

Patriot. Well, sir, I wish that the Lord our God may grant you a prosperous voyage, and bless you with his special favour, and those who dwell in the New-Netherlands, in time and forever, to the furthering and magnifying of his Holy Name and Glory. Amen.

CONDITIONS

Entered into and made between the Lords the Burgomasters of the city of Amsterdam, and the West India Company, by the approbation of their High Mightinesses, the States General of the United Netherlands.

WHEREUPON the following is presented to all those who, as colonists, desire to withdraw to the New-Netherlands, and who shall address themselves to the Hon. Lord *Coenraed Burgh*, Counsellor and former Schepen, *Henrick Roeters*, Upper Commissary of the Exchange, *Eduart Man*, *Isaac Van Beeck*, *Hector Pietersz*, and *Johan Tayspel*, as Commissioners and Directors thereunto appointed, and named by the Burgomasters, upon the authority of the Council of this City, and commissioned, who will hold their sittings provisionally at the West India House, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, in the afternoon at half-past three o'clock.

ARTICLE 1. The colonists going thitherward, together with their families, needful household furniture, and other necessaries, shall be carried over in proper ships.

ART. 2. The city of Amsterdam shall agree with the shippers, as they best can, for the transportation of persons and goods.

ART. 3. The same city shall pay the transport money, by form of advance, which shall hereafter be repaid in the manner hereafter mentioned.

ART. 4. The said city shall advance to the colonists, to enable them to settle honorably and prosperously, as follows, viz :

ART. 5. First, the said city shall provide and direct to a fruitful land, of a temperate and healthy climate, watered and lying against a salt, navigable river; for which an agreement has been made with the West India Company, and where no persons can set up any adverse claims.

ART. 6. That the said city shall provide a suitable piece of land on the bank of a river for a secure and proper dwelling place for the colonists. The place shall be provided with a trench and wall on the outer side, and the inner ground be laid out with streets, a market, and in lots for the advantage of merchants, mechanics, and those who will pursue agriculture—the whole to be done at the cost of the said city.

ART. 7. The city of Amsterdam shall send to the said place a capable person to serve as a schoolmaster, who by provision shall be a preacher of the Holy Scriptures, and also a leader in psalmody.

ART. 8. The city shall also provide for and pay the salary of the school master.

ART. 9. And to the end that the colonists may be provided with necessaries as far as is practicable, the said city shall supply them with clothing and necessaries for one year, and also with seed grain; and for the assurance and certainty of having the necessary supplies on hand, the city shall erect a large magazine or warehouse in said place for the storage of clothing and necessaries for the people, wherein they shall keep their factor, who shall supply every colonist with necessary clothing, household necessaries, and husbandry articles at the same prices of this country, the toll of the company not charged.

ART. 10. Concerning the toll (commissions) of the company, the same shall be paid according to the annexed list of rates, and the city shall also provide in time that the tolls which are paid in the New Netherlands shall be there employed and expended, in the erection and support of such public works as shall be authorized by this city and the West India Company.

ART. 11. The said fortified place, destined for the dwelling of the colonists, whether it be named a city or town, (*vlek*), shall be governed for political justice, in the manner of succession, according to the present practice of the city of Amsterdam.

ART. 12. They shall first have a Schout (sheriff,) as chief of the police, (*justicia*), installed as is done here.

ART. 13. The Schout shall be installed in the name of their High Mightinesses, and of the West India Company, for the Deputies of Amsterdam, who, for that purpose, by procuration shall give authority to the Director.

ART. 14. There shall also be three Burgomasters, to be chosen by the common burghers from the honestest, richest, and most capable men.

ART. 15. There shall be five, or seven magistrates (*Schepenen*), for which purpose the burghers shall nominate a double number, from which a choice shall be made by the Directors upon procuration according to Art. 13.

ART. 16. Whenever the city or town shall have increased to the number of 250 families or more, then the burghers shall elect a council of twenty persons, who shall assemble in council with the burgomasters and schepens, and resolve upon all subjects relating to the state of the said city. And this council, after it shall have been thus formed, shall have power to fill vacancies arising in their number by deaths or otherwise, by ordering the election of other persons by a fair majority of votes to fill such vacancies in the said city council. Elections for the burgomasters and for the council shall be held annually. The said body shall also have the nomination of the double number of schepens, from which the same shall be appointed as aforesaid.

ART. 17. The Schepens may give final judgment upon arrests for all sums not exceeding 100 guilders. For sums exceeding 100 guilders, the aggrieved party may appeal to the Director General and council.

ART. 18. The said Schepens shall also have power in all criminal cases, but it is provided that appeals may be taken from their decisions.

ART. 19. The city of Amsterdam shall agree with a smith, a wheelwright, and a carpenter, to remove to the said place for the benefit and service of the colonists.

ART. 20. The aforesaid city of Amsterdam shall cause the land lying around and contiguous to such city or town, to be laid out into fields for tillage, pasturage and hay-land, and provide ways to the same.

ART. 21. To every person who desires to pursue farming, there shall be granted in firm and continued ownership, as much tillable, pasture and hay-land, as he with his family can till and require, from twenty to thirty morgens or more, upon condition that all such land granted to any of the colonists shall, within two years after the same is granted, be brought into cultivation, upon pain of forfeiture and of the same being granted unto another.

ART. 22. Every colonist shall freely hold and occupy his land without paying any per centage, horn-money, or salt-money, for ten years, calculating from the time his land was first sowed or mowed. When these ten years have expired, they shall not be burthened higher than the residue of any neighbouring district are who stand under the administrators of the West India Company in the New-Netherlands. They shall also be free from the tenths for twenty years from the

time of sowing or mowing as aforesaid. After said twenty years are expired, a tenth shall be given to the city of Amsterdam, with the understanding that then the half of the tenth shall be used there for the support of the public works, and of the persons employed in the public service for preserving and keeping of the same. And also, whenever any poundage or other assessments shall be paid, the same shall be employed for the erection and maintaining of the public works, and for the payment of the persons who are in service in the same.

ART. 23. The city of Amsterdam shall provide, that ships be regularly sent from Holland for the grain, seeds, timber and merchandise of the colonists, and to bring the same over for their benefit. They shall also be at liberty to freight vessels, upon consigning the same to the city of Amsterdam.

ART. 24. The city of Amsterdam shall provide warehouses in Holland for the benefit of the colonists, and for the reception of their grain and articles of merchandise, and shall sell the same for the profit of the shippers, and again invest and remit the proceeds in such articles as shall be ordered, retaining a commission of two per cent. and a tenth of the net profits, to reimburse the said city for the money it has advanced for the transportation of the persons and goods of the colonists. This to continue until the advances are repaid, and no longer.

ART. 25. The colonists of the New-Netherlands, whenever they want necessaries, may be supplied from the city warehouse, at the set price; the accounts of such sales shall be remitted here, to have the same credited to the merchant, or otherwise.

ART. 26. The colonists may, for the building of houses, vessels, and also for sale, cut and procure timber in the nearest woods of their district, and from any other place in the jurisdiction of the West India Company in New-Netherlands, at their pleasure, from any land which has not been particularly reserved, already granted, or that may be granted, subject to the further conditions also of Art. 28.

ART. 27. The burgomasters of Amsterdam, as founders, patrons, and having the jurisdiction, shall appoint a secretary legate for advancing the subalterns.

ART. 28. The hunting in the wilderness, and also the fishing in all waters and rivers which have not already been granted, shall be free to all the colonists, subject to such regulations as shall be made under the authority of the Company, or of the States-General.

ART. 29. The city of Amsterdam shall provide that all

necessary implements of husbandry shall be shipped for the colonists free from recognition charges.

ART. 30. If any of the colonists, by himself, his family, or his servants, shall discover any minerals, chrystals, precious stones, alabaster, &c., &c., of whatever nature or kind soever the same may be, he shall possess the same as his own, free from any impost for ten years; and at the expiration of ten years, he shall pay over to the company one-tenth part of the net profits proceeding from the same.

ART. 31. The city of Amsterdam shall provide a warehouse in said city, wherein shall be brought all the goods to be imported and examined, by a person appointed on the part of the West India Company, and another person on the part of the city of Amsterdam. After the inspection the same shall be marked with the marks of the city and of the Company, and the impost upon the same paid by the Company, according to the list of the rates.

ART. 32. The goods shall be laden, to the knowledge of the Company, on board of such ships as the city shall provide for that purpose.

ART. 33. If the said city should send over any goods on board of a ship on freight, the same must be sent to New-Amsterdam, subject to the same regulations, and the city be subject to their own rules as well as others.

ART. 34. But whenever the city of Amsterdam will send their own or any kind of ship laden only with their own goods, they may send such vessel direct to their city, place or colony, with all the lading, to be delivered into the warehouse of the said city, consigned and committed to any of the said Company to whom the commission and letters shall be delivered.

ART. 35. As all the wares, productions, and merchandise of the colony of the said city, and coming from thence, must be brought here into this city and deposited in its warehouses to the credit of the company and sold, and the right of the land and of the Company paid out of the same—the following list of specifications is annexed.

[We deem it unnecessary to enter and translate the list of specifications referred to in the preceding articles, and deem it sufficient to remark, that $10\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. covered all charges. All articles employed in agriculture, and used by mechanics in their trades, came over free. All the productions of the soil, including salted and dried fish, were exported free. Peltries paid from 8 to 10 per cent. In the New-Netherlands, 4 per cent. in light money, in addition, was charged upon all goods entered subject to any charges. The rix dollar passed at sixty-three stuyvers.]

VI.

EXTRACTS

FROM THE

VOYAGES

OF

DAVID PIETERSZEN de VRIES,

Master of Artillery in the service of the United Provinces, &c.

TRANSLATED FROM A DUTCH MANUSCRIPT

IN THE PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY,

BY

DR. G. TROOST.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

AMONG the early founders of colonies on the banks of the Hudson was DAVID PIETERSZEN de VRIES, the author of the work from which the following extracts have been made, containing descriptions of his voyages to different parts of the world. He was from Hoorn, a port in North Holland, one of those nurseries of bold and skilful seamen by whose means the maritime supremacy of the republic was maintained at that period.* In the year 1630, De Vries was associated with De Laet, Van Rensselaer, and other patroons, for the purpose of planting colonies within the limits of the New-Netherlands. Their first enterprise was to the South or Delaware river, and towards the close of that year our author embarked in person, accompanied by about thirty emigrants, who commenced a settlement near the present site of Lewistown, in Delaware. "The voyage of De Vries," says the eloquent and exact historian of the United States, "was the cradling of a state. That Delaware exists as a separate commonwealth is due to the colony of De Vries."†

Having returned to Holland, De Vries again embarked for the South river in the autumn of 1632, where he had the unhappiness to find his colony destroyed and laid waste, without so much as a solitary survivor to make known their fate. But it was sufficiently apparent that it had been the work of the neighbouring Indians, and after endeavouring for some time to ascertain the perpetrators of the horrid tragedy, he sailed for Virginia, and afterwards to the New-Netherlands, where he remained until the summer of 1633. The following year he was engaged in establishing a colony on the coast of Guiana, in South America, which proving unsuccessful, he abandoned the attempt, and bent his course for the Hudson and

* It was an enterprising voyager from the same place, *William Cornelis Schouten*, who led the way into the western ocean around Cape Horn, which he named in compliment to his native town.

† Bancroft's *History of the United States*, ii. 281.

New Amsterdam, where he arrived in June, 1635. He returned to Holland the same year.

The last voyage of De Vries was performed in 1638, when he again visited the New-Netherlands, for the purpose of planting a colony on Staten Island, of which he had obtained a grant from the West India Company. Failing in this enterprise for the want of settlers, who were not sent out to him from Holland as had been agreed between himself and Frederick de Vries, his partner in the undertaking, and a Director of the West India Company, our author turned his attention in the first place to a small plantation situated a few miles above the fort of New Amsterdam, on Manhattan Island, where he resided for a time. But not satisfied with this property, De Vries, in the spring of 1640, made an excursion up the Hudson for the purpose of examining the country and purchasing an estate. The first day he reached Tappaan, about twenty-five miles from the mouth of the river, where he obtained a tract of more than six hundred acres of land from the Indians, to which he afterwards gave the name of *VRIESEDALE*. Continuing his route, he arrived at Fort Orange, (now Albany,) on the *fourteenth* day after leaving New Amsterdam. But we must refer to our author's own narrative for further particulars of his journey, and of his subsequent residence in the country, which furnishes an interesting sketch of the state of the colony during a part of the administration of Governor Kieft.* De Vries returned to Holland in the spring of 1644, discouraged probably by the little success that had attended his various enterprises in the new world.

His voyages were published at Alckmaer, North Holland, in 1655, with the following title, viz :—"Brief historical and journalized Notes of several Voyages to the four quarters of the globe—Europe, Africa, Asia, and America, by David Pieterszen de Vries, Master of Artillery to the Most Honourable Lords, the Committee Council of the States of West Vriesland and the North Quarter ; wherein are described several naval battles in which he has been

* In the year 1641, when troubles occurred with the Indians, the Governor consulted with several prominent citizens of the colony, whose names are mentioned in the Colonial Records of that period ; among them is the name of David Pieterszen de Vries.—MS. Dutch Records, vol. ii., 137.

engaged; each country, its animals, birds, different kinds of fishes, and various savage nations drawn from life, together with the woods and rivers, and their products. HOORN, for David Pieterszen de Vries, Artillery Master of the North Quarter; Alckmaer, by Simon Cornelis Brekgeest, 1655.”*

Such is the title of the book as contained in the extracts made from it by the late Mr. Du Simitière, of Philadelphia, and now deposited among the manuscripts of the Library Company of that city. These extracts are in the original Dutch, and consist of about thirty pages large folio, handsomely engrossed. A translation of nearly all of them was made a few years ago by Dr. G. Troost, of Philadelphia, at the expense of Joseph W. Moulton, Esq., whose valuable contributions to the early history of New-York are well known to the public. The Editor was indebted in the first instance for a copy of this translation to George Bancroft, Esq., the historian of the United States, and subsequently to Mr. Moulton, for this and other documents relating to De Vries.

In regard to the original work, after the most diligent inquiry, no copy of it has been discovered in this country; and, indeed, the only one of which Mr. Bancroft has succeeded in ascertaining the existence, is contained in the Royal Library of Dresden, Saxony.† Professor Ebeling, of Germany, in his great work upon the Geography and History of America, refers to two supposed editions of De Vries, but adds that he was unable to obtain a copy of either. “*Beider konte ich nicht habhaft werden.*”‡ The Chevalier Lambrechtsen also sought in vain for it, when in pursuit of materials for the composition of his History of the New-Netherlands.

* “Korte Historiæ ende Journael aenteykeninge van verscheyden Voyagiens in de vier deelen des Wereldts Ronde, als Europa, Africa, Asia, ende America, gedaen door David Pieterszen de Vries, Artillery-Meester van de Ed: M. Heeren gecommiteerde Raden van Staten van West Vrieslandt ende t' Noorder Quartier; waer in verhaelt werd wat bataillies hy te water gedaen heeft: yder landschap zyn gedierte, gevogel, wat soort van vischen, ende wat wilde menschen naer't leven geconterfeit, ende van de Boschen ende Rivieren met haer vruchten. t' Hoorn, voor David Pieterszen de Vries, Artillery-Meester van't Noorder Quartier; tot Alckmaer, by Simon Cornelis Brekgeest, Anno 1655.”

† Communicated in a letter from Dr. Julius, of Hamburg.

‡ Christoph Daniel Ebelings, Professors der Geschichte am Hamburgischen Gymnasium und Bibliothekars, *Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Amerika*. Delaware. t. v. 132.—This valuable German work remains to be translated.

It may be well to add, that the title of the book in question is somewhat varied by different writers; thus, Ebeling gives it as follows:—"Korte historiael ende journals aentekeninge van verscheyden Voyagiens, 1618-1644," &c. A French bibliographical work, professing to contain the titles of all books of voyages and travels ever published, has the following:—"Korte historiael ende journaales aenteykeninge van verscheyden Voyagiens in de vier deelen der Wereldts van de 1618-1644, door Simon de Vries. Hoorn, 1655, in 4to."* By comparing these with the title as furnished by the Du Simitière MS., it will be seen that the dates (1618-1644) are added, and, in the second at least, compose a part of the title, which circumstance, together with the change in the name of the author to *Simon de Vries*, almost leads us to conclude that there were two publications of a similar character by different writers.

The name of De Vries was not an uncommon one among the Dutch at that period. Frederick de Vries, a Director of the West India Company, has been already mentioned as a partner of our author in the business of colonization. The name of Jan de Vries often occurs in the colonial records. He resided at New Amsterdam, and owned land east of the *Kolck*, now in the vicinity of Chatham-street. There was also a distinguished navigator, Martin Gerritson de Vries, who performed a voyage to Japan in 1643;† and an island near the bay of Jeddo, in that country, still bears his name.‡ It would not be strange, therefore, if two persons of the name of De Vries, who had visited various parts of the world, should have published the journals of their voyages in the same year. But, nevertheless, it seems more probable that the writers to whom we have referred, may have fallen into an accidental error in regard to the title of the book. And although the four voyages of David Pieterszen de Vries, as described in the Du Simitière MS., were performed from 1630-1644, the original work may have contained notices of others that took place at a prior date, and as early as 1618.

* Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages, par G. B. de la Richaraderie, t. i. 171.

† Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne, t. xlix. Art. *VRIES*.

‡ Voyage of the Morrison and Himmaleh to Japan, i. 122. New-York, 1839. See also Krusenstern's Voyage round the World, and Atlas.

The following translation, being the production of a gentleman whose mother tongue was not the English, is not altogether such in point of style as could be desired, but its general accuracy may be relied upon. As the work has never before appeared in an English dress, the novelty of its details, and their intimate connexion with the affairs of the Dutch colony, cannot fail to recommend it to the favour of all who take an interest in our early history.

EDITOR.

EXTRACTS
FROM A
HISTORY AND JOURNAL
OF FOUR VOYAGES,

IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD, VIZ :

EUROPE, AFRICA, ASIA, AND AMERICA,

BY DAVID PIETERSZEN DE VRIES,

Master of Artillery in the service of the United Provinces, &c.

Two months after my arrival from the East Indies, I met with a merchant at Amsterdam, named Samuel Godyn. He offered me a commandership in the New-Netherlands. They had a mind to form there a colony, and they would employ me there, as second patroon, as was granted by the States, and by the 19th of the West India Company's charter. I answered him that I was willing to accept the offer, upon condition that I should be a patroon equal in every thing with the others. This was agreed upon; and in consequence we have formed a patroonship, viz. Samuel Godyn, Killian Van Rensselaer, Samuel Bloemart, Jan de Laet, and I, David Pieterszen de Vries. Since that time several more more patroons have been added to the number, viz : Matthys van Keulen, Nicolaes van Sittorigh, Harnick Koeck, and Hendrick Hamel. We have mutually made a contract, in which we have put one another on an equal footing; and have prepared a ship and yacht for our voyage, as well for the whale fishing in those parts, as for the colony purpose, the planting of tobacco, raising of grain, &c. This ship and yacht sailed from Texel, Dec. 12, 1630, for the South River, (the Delaware,) in lat. $38^{\circ} 30'$, in order to plant there the colony. Godyn being informed that the whales were plenty in those regions, and fish oil being 60 guilders the hhd., the vessel was laden with utensils for the fishing, and planters and cattle for the colony.*

* Our traveller speaks here only of the whale fishery, which seems not to have answered the expectation. He went home again, and undertook a second trip for the same purpose; and was now sole commander and patroon of the expedition.—TRANS.

1632.

We learned before we left the Texel, that our little post had been destroyed by the Indians, and thirty-two men killed who were working in the field.

Dec. 1. We sounded at 39°—had fifty-seven fathom, and smelled land, the wind being N. W., occasioned by the odour of the underwood, which at this time of the year is burned by the Indians, in order to be less hindered in their hunting. We smell the land, therefore, before it can be seen. At thirteen to fourteen fathom, we saw land, from 34' to 40'.

Dec. 3. We saw the opening of the South Bay, or South River. On the 5th, we went into the bay. We had a whale near the vessel. We promised ourselves great things, plenty of whales, and good land for cultivation.

Dec. 6. We ran with the boat up the Kill, and were well armed lest we should meet with any Indians. We found our house destroyed. It was surrounded with palisades, instead of parapets or breastwork, but the most of them had been burned. We found the ground bestrewn with the heads and bones of our murdered men, but saw no Indians. Went on board again, and ordered a gun to be fired, to see if the Indians would come down.

Dec. 7. Saw two or three Indians near our destroyed house. They did not come near us; wanted we should go to them. I resolved to go to them next morning in the yacht, in order to have a shelter from their arrows.

Dec. 8. We went in the yacht up the creek to the house. The Indians came on the shore, but would not at first come on board. At last one came. I gave him a dress of cloth, and we told him that we wished to make peace with them. There now came more Indians, who expected also a dress, but we gave them only some trinkets, and told them that we had presented the other with a dress, because he had shown more confidence in us, as being the first that ventured to enter the boat. We told them to come the next day with their chief, whom they call *Sakimas*, with whom we would make a satisfactory peace, which they called *Rancontynmarenit*. One of the Indians remained with us during the night in the yacht. We asked him the reason why they had killed our people? He showed us a place where our people had emptied a pillow, to which was attached a piece of tin, upon which was figured the emblem of Holland. One of their chiefs wanted to take this piece of tin to make of it tobacco pipes, not knowing that it was improper. Those who had the command at the house showed much dissatisfaction, so that the Indians did not know how to make amends. They

went away and killed the chief who had taken the tin, and brought a token of it to those who had the command at the house, who told them that they had done wrong; that they ought to have come with him to the house, and they would have only told him not to do so again. They then went away; but the friends of the murdered chief (these people having much the character of the Italians, who are greatly addicted to vengeance) had resolved to be revenged. They attacked our people when they were working in the field, leaving but a single sick man in the house, and a large bull-dog, which was chained out of doors. The man who had the command of the house stood near the door. Three of the boldest Indians, who were to perpetrate the deed, came and offered him a parcel of beavers to barter, and contrived to enter the house. He went in with them to transact the business. That being done, he went to a garret where the stores were. Coming down, one of the Indians cleaved his head with an axe, so that he dropped dead on the floor. They then murdered the sick man, and then went to the dog, which they feared most, and shot at least twenty-five arrows at him before he was killed. They then went in a treacherous manner to the people in the field, approaching them under the appearance of friendship, and murdered one after the other. Thus terminated our first colony, to our great loss.

Dec. 9. The Indians came with their chief. They sat down in a circle, and concluded peace. We presented them with some duffil,* bullets, axes, and Nuremberg trinkets; and they promised to present us reciprocally with some articles, having been a hunting. They parted then with much joy from us, seeing that we did not take any notice of their behaviour towards us, which we let pass by, well knowing that we had no chance to take vengeance, they having no fixed abode.

We made now preparations for the fishery and boiling of oil, and formed a lodging place of some boards.

1633.

Jan. 1. I went in the yacht up the South River to see if I could obtain some beans from the Indians. We saw a whale before the *embouchure* of the river.

Jan. 5. Went before the little fort, where formerly lived some families of the West India Company. It is called Fort Nassau.† There were now collected a few Indians, who wanted to barter some furs, but I wanted only Indian corn, having no

* A kind of cloth resembling blankets.

† This fort was built by the Dutch in 1623, on the east side of the Delaware, a few miles below Philadelphia.—ED.

articles to barter for furs, having presented them all at Swaenendal (valley of the Swans,) where we had made the peace. They told us we should go to the Timmerkill, (now Cooper's creek,) when an Indian woman belonging to the San-
kitans, came and warned us not to go far up the creek, knowing that we should be attacked. We gave this woman a dress of cloth, to make her tell all she knew. She then informed us that they had murdered the crew of an English boat, which ascended the Count Ernest river.

Jan. 6. We weighed anchor, and lay before the Timmerkill, prepared fully to see what the Indians intended to do. A parcel of Indians now approached the boat, offering some skins of beavers, entering as many as forty-two or forty-three into the yacht. Some of them began to play on reeds, so as to give no suspicion; but we being only seven in the yacht, were upon our guard, and when we judged that it was high enough, we ordered them all on shore, or we would fire at them; when their sachem took an armful of beaver skins and offered them to us, probably as a trial, but we refused them, and ordered them again to go to the shore, well knowing that they intended some villany or other; that Manatœ, as they call the devil, had told us so. They then went again to the shore, so that their villanous undertaking miscarried. These were Indians of the Roodehoek, also called Mantes; they were partly dressed in English jackets, which gave me much suspicion, as they could not have obtained this clothing in a fair way, as they never formed part of the goods taken for barter.

Jan. 8. In the morning we came again before the fort. The fort was now crowded with Indians, and they were collecting more and more. There came a canoe to us with nine chiefs from different places, amongst whom was the man with his English jacket, which nevertheless he wore not now. They sat down in a circle, and called for us, saying that they saw we were in fear for them; that they came on purpose to conclude a permanent peace with us, presented us with ten beaver skins, the gift of every one being accompanied with some ceremonies, saying at the same time in whose name it was given, as a token of eternal peace; and that we must now banish all suspicion, as they had rejected all evil thoughts. I then offered them by the translator some presents for each, consisting of an axe, adze, and a pair of small knives, but these they refused, saying that they did not give their presents to receive others in the place of them, but in order to make peace. We told them that we would give them something for their wives; but they told us we must give it them on shore. On the 9th, and 10th, got some Indian corn and furs in barter of them.

In the morning of the 19th, went upwards of a mile from Jaques Eyland (the island of Jacques). Went up a fine creek; the country was handsome, with an abundant growth of vines; and gave it therefore the name of Wyngaert's kill (Vine creek).

As we had failed to get Indian corn in the South river, we resolved to go to Virginia of the English, it not being probable that we should find any in the large river near Fort Amsterdam, for provisions for our returning voyage. None of the Dutch had been there before us; and as I had been in some danger in the South river, I would incur more, and would be the first who visited these places.

[Our traveller is now going to Virginia. He found the land there in a more advanced and settled state. He sees for the first time a peach tree; (one would suppose from this that the peach tree was indigenous.) He saw the governor, who, understanding that he came from the South river, told him that this river belonged to the British; that some time ago Lord Delaware had taken possession of it; but finding the same, from its numerous sand banks, not navigable, did not ascend the same; that he sometime ago had sent a sloop there with a few men, who never had returned, being probably upset at sea. Our traveller told him then that he was mistaken; that for many years it had belonged to the Dutch, who had built there a fort called Nassau; that it was a fine navigable river; and as to the crew of the boat of which he spoke, that he had learned from the Indians on that river, among whom he had seen the English jackets, that this crew had been murdered. The governor gave him six goats to be introduced into his new colony. He bought some provisions for the ship, and returned. He found that there were taken seven whales, which gave thirty-two cartels fish oil, and also found that the whale fishery in those regions was too expensive and the fish too poor to yield any profit. He accordingly prepares to return to Europe. The remainder of the narrative is mere observations of navigation, &c.]

1633.

April 16.—We weighed anchor and went to Staten Island, where we arrived about noon, opposite Fort Amsterdam. We found there the ship *De Zoutberg*, belonging to the West India Company. It had on board the new Commander, *Wouter van Twiller*, from Nieuwkerke. He had been a clerk of the West India Company at Amsterdam, and he left Holland after we had gone. I went on shore near the fort. He bade me welcome, and asked how the whale fishery had fallen out. I told him I had a sample of it, and that they were unwise who came here at such expense to fish for whales. The Company could

have ascertained how this fishing was, by using two or three sloops from the settlement here ; at least Godyn, who since the West India Company had been in existence was one of its directors, and was also a director of the Greenland Whale Company, ought to have known that these things should have been tried with less expense.

April 18.—There arrived an Englishman from New England. He wanted to ascend the river to trade. There was on the river a koopman,* named Jacob Elkens, who acted then as commander. He was not better qualified for this office, than this commander Van Twiller, who came to his office from a clerkship—an amusing case. The Englishman invited this Commander to dine with him. I with some others was of the company. The people soon got intoxicated, and began to quarrel. The Englishman was astonished that such irregularities could take place amongst the officers of the company, and that the commander had no more control among them—such things not being customary among the English. He remained before the fort six or seven days, and then told them he wanted to go up the river ; that the land belonged to the English. This was denied, as the English had never landed any people there. The Englishman answered, that the river had been discovered by *David Hudson*, who was an Englishman. It was true, they replied, that this river was discovered by him in 1609, but that he was sent by the East India Company of Holland, and that the river was called Mauritz-river, in honour of the Prince of Orange.

On the 24th April, the Englishman weighed anchor, and sailed up the river to Fort Orange, where this Jacob Elkens formerly resided in the capacity of superior officer (*opperhoofd*, literally chief). Wouter van Twiller, the commander, collected thereupon all his people in the fort before his door ; ordered a barrel of wine to be brought, and having taken a bumper, cried out, "Those who love the Prince of Orange and me, emulate me in this, and assist me in repelling the violence committed by that Englishman !" But the Englishman was already out of sight, and quietly sailing up the river. He was now laughed at by all the people. They knew well how to get at the bottom of a cask of wine, being a beverage just fitted to their taste. Even if there had been six casks of wine, they would have mastered them. But as for the Englishman, they concluded they would not trouble him, saying the English were

* Of five officers, the lowest was assistant ; the second under-koopman ; the third koopman ; and the fourth upper-koopman. From these degrees they were advanced to superier officers. Our friend here was only koopman. There was another officer called book keeper.

their friends. When I took dinner with him that day, I told him he had acted indiscreetly, as the Englishman had no commission, having only a paper of the custom house, (tol brief,) from which it simply appeared that he had paid so much, and had so many passengers on board, being bound for New England and not for New Netherlands. I spoke then as if it had been my case, and told him that I would have made him go from the fort by the persuasion of some *iron beans* sent him by our guns, and would not have allowed him to go up the river. I told him that we did not put up with those things in the East Indies. There we taught them how to behave; and this is necessary, otherwise nothing can be done with those people, being of so haughty a nature that they think every thing belongs to them. That if it had been my case, I would have sent after him the ship the Zoutberg, and have forced him down, and driven him out of the river, till he came with a better commission than a mere paper of the custom house; and that they (the English) only made a joke of him.

On the 20th of May, I wanted to sail my yacht up to the north of Hellegat (literally, the hole of Hell*), beginning to prepare to return to Holland. It was then that this Commander began to play his pranks again, and to juggle as if he were drunk. He did not want that the yacht should go to the north, and ordered *schepen* along side, (boats big enough to contain the whole yacht) and would unload the yacht, which had only six last (a last is of the weight of nearly two tons) of stone as ballast in. I protested against this, showing him the privileges I had of the Nineteen, (the number of the Directors of the West India Company,) and approved by the government, and that I would not have the yacht unloaded. He then told me he would search the yacht, as was customary amongst all princes and monarchs, to see if it had any thing on board, which was subject to the Company; and then ordered the guns of the fort to be pointed towards the yacht, and would fire at it. Thereupon I ran to the point where he stood with the secretary, and one or two of his council, and told them that it seemed the country was full of fools; that if they would fire at something, they ought to have fired at the Englishman, who was violating the rights of their river against their will. This made them desist from firing. They then loosened a yacht which lay next ours, and so both sailed to the north.

Having now every thing prepared, and being ready to take leave of the governor, he came again to vex me. He would not that I should go on board with my boat before his boat had been there to visit my vessel. I told him that my vessel was

Gat, as a sea term, often means a narrow passage or strait, as *Cattle-gat*, *Barne-gat*, &c. &c.—Ed.

not to be visited ; that I was bound to the father-land (*patria*) ; that if he had letters, he could send them after me ; that I would go to my boat. He then sent immediately twelve armed men after me to prevent us from going. I asked my people if they would row. I told them if I was in the boat I would row away ; and if they were possessed of my courage, they would do the same. They then rowed away ; so that the armed men were heartily laughed at by the by-standers, who ridiculed them, saying in common that they ought to have used their arms and guns against the Englishman, and prevented his passing the fort to go up the river, and not against our own patroons of the land, who were endeavouring to be beneficial to the colony. I went shortly after to Long-Island, where I had ordered my boat behind the Nooten Eiland (Nut Island) ; but before I went off, I went once more to the fort, to take my leave of the governor. I admonished him not to play the fool in that manner ; that he acted very inconsiderately in sending three armed men to prevent me from going away ; that he made himself a laughing stock for his people. I told him then that if he wanted to send letters to his masters the Directors of the Company, he could do so, and send them to me. I then went away. Coming to the boat on Long-Island, night came on and the tide began to turn, so that we rowed to Pavonia. We were there well received by Michael Poulaz, an officer in the service of the Company, and passed the fort again before day break.

We arrived about noon on board the ship, and about the same time arrived the yacht of the fort, with letters. I bid them welcome. There came on board the sheriff Notelman and the secretary Remunt. I then ordered the goods out of the boat to be put on board. When they saw a dozen of beaver skins, the secretary said immediately, "These must be confiscated, having not been entered at the fort." I told him to take them, when the sheriff interfered, saying, "We are not now at the fort, but let us taste of your wine," he being somewhat of a *bouser*, and this being the case with nearly all of them. I told them that water was good enough for them—they might fall overboard. At last the sheriff cried out, "What are we talking longer about!"—he was dry, and would go to the cabin. If he did wrong the patroon could make his complaints in Holland. I told the sheriff, as he was speaking so handsomely, he could enter the cabin, and that I would give him a glass out of the best cask. If the others made much ado, they could go. I was now in my ship, and not under their control. The secretary replied, that he could send the ship, the Friedberg, after me. I told him to do so, as the Friedberg had sugar on board, and my crew would be very glad to eat some sugar with their barley, and I supposed we would have some chance. I moreover told the

secretary, that I was astonished that the West India Company should send such fools to the colonies, who knew nothing but how to drink themselves drunk. They would in the East Indies not be fit for assistants; that in this way the Company would soon go to destruction. In the East Indies nobody was advanced to Commander, but after a long service, and after it was known that he was competent for the office; that he had first to serve as an assistant, then under-koopman, then koopman, before he came to be upper-koopman; and advanced farther according to merit. But the West India Company send out at once as superior officers people who had never seen any service, and must of course go to destruction. They then returned to the fort.

July 24. Arrived at Amsterdam, where I found my associates at variance with one another, and with other directors of the West India Company, because I had traded two or four beaver skins, certainly a circumstance not worth the while to talk of, it being granted by the 15th Art. that a Patroon shall have the privilege to do so, when the Company has an officer or commissioner. So that our colony-making was now suspended. The Directors have done nothing but to fight with their own shadows. As I was at variance with my associates, and they being all Directors of the West India Company, and continually quarrelling with one another, I have resigned.

De Vries calls this his first voyage; but this voyage, in fact, contains two trips. In the first he established the house, which he found destroyed and his people murdered when he arrived the second time.

*Extracts from the Second Voyage to the coast of America,
by David Pieterzen de Vries.*

Anno 1634.

I have again with my friends entered into a partnership to form a colony on the coast of Guyana, or the wild coast, of which Mr. Jan Bicker is one of the principal patroons. I was again the first patroon who landed there from Holland.

July. 10. We left the Texel in the ship Koning David, carrying 14 guns, twenty-five head of cattle, and thirty planters.

1635.

April. 30. We arrived in New-Netherlands the first of June. I went on shore with the boat near Fort Amsterdam, where I found Wouter van Twiller still governor. I requested him to send me some carpenters, which was done. I then went to Virginia, &c.

[This second voyage has little of interest respecting the New-Netherlands. De Vries spent most of his time in Guiana and Virginia. He learned that the people who had been placed in his new colony on the wild coast had deserted, by instigation of the British. When he was at the house of Wouter Van Twiller, there arrived a boat of the Company, with fourteen or fifteen Englishmen, who wanted to take Fort Nassau.]

1636.

June 25. I went to the fort, and found there the governor, and the minister of Pavonia in the colony of Michael Pauw, where Cornelis van Vorst acted as superior officer. He had been at the north, and brought with him some good *claret*; knowing that the governor was fond of this article, he went there also. The governor and minister got a quarreling with Cornelis van Vorst, about a manslaughter which had been committed there; but soon matters were made up, and Cornelis van Vorst, willing to give a salute to the governor from a stone gun that stood on a pillar near the house, a spark of it lodged on the roof, which being covered with reed, caught fire, and the whole house was consumed in less than half an hour.

Aug. 8. The constapel (first gunner) of the fort gave a frolick. On one of the points of the fort a tent was erected and tables and benches placed for the invited people. When the glee was at its height, the trumpet began to blow, which again occasioned a quarrel, and the koopman of the stores, and the koopman of the cargasoons, gave the trumpeter names. The trumpeter, in revenge, gave them each a drubbing, when they ran home for their swords, and would take revenge of the trumpeter; and swaggering and boasting much, went to the house of the governor, and would have eaten the trumpeter! But when the wine was evaporated in the morning, their courage was somewhat lowered, and they did not endeavour much to find the trumpeter.

Aug. 13. I requested Wouter van Twiller to put Staten

Island down to my name, intending to form a colony there,* which was granted.

On the 15th I undertook my home voyage.

Third Voyage to New-Netherlands, in order to erect a Colony on Staten Island, for me and Frederick de Vries, Secretary of the city of Amsterdam, and Director of the West India Company.

Anno 1638.

Sept. 25. On board the ship of the West India Company, sailed from Holland.

Dec. 26. Got sight of Sandy Hook. The captain, imagining he saw land covered with snow, wanted to go to the West Indies to pass the winter there, and return against spring. I told him that he certainly could enter into South river, but he having only my imperfect chart, did not know that such a river existed. He then, at the request of the passengers, who all had their homes in the New-Netherlands, solicited me to pilot his ship in, which I did, and anchored the same evening before Staten Island, which was my property, and put my people on shore.

On the morning of the 27th, we anchored opposite the Fort, where we were received with much joy, as they did not expect to see a vessel at that time of the year. I now found there a governor named William Kieft. He bade me welcome, and invited me to his house.

1639.

Jan. 5.—Send my people to Staten Island, to commence the colony and buildings.

June 4.—Went northward with a yacht up the *Versche Rivier* (Connecticut river), where the West India Company possess a small fort called *huys de Hoop*, (house of hope,) and anchored about even in the eastern haven, being a large commodious haven on the north of Long Island. This haven is in the island, where it is upwards of two miles wide. We found fine oysters there also. The Dutch call it the Oyster

* De Vries calls the different settlements Colonies, and the whole country a plantation.

bay or haven. We arrived the next evening at Roodeberg, a fine haven, and found that the English were building a fine town, having already erected upwards of three hundred houses and a handsome church.*

In the morning of the 7th, we came opposite *de Versche Rivier*. We went up the river, and on the 9th arrived with my yacht at the fort *het huys de Hoop*, where we found one Gysbert van Dyck as commander, with 14 or 15 soldiers. This fort is situated near the river and a small creek, forming there a fall. The English had also begun to build here a town (*Hartford*) against our will, and had already a fine church and more than a hundred houses erected. The commander gave me orders to protest against their proceedings. He added that some of his soldiers had prohibited them to put a plough into the ground, as it was our land that we had bought of the Indians and paid for; but they opposed them, and had given a drubbing to the soldiers. When I came to the settlement, the English governor invited me to dinner. I told him during dinner, that he acted very improperly in taking the lands of the company, which were bought and paid for by them. He answered me that these lands were lying uncultivated; that we had been here already several years, and nothing was done to improve the ground; that it was a sin to leave so valuable lands uncultivated, such fine crops could be raised upon them; that they had now already built three towns on this river, in which was abundance of salmon, &c. The English here live soberly. They drink only three times every meal, and those that become drunk are whipped on a pole, as the thieves are in Holland.

[Our traveller here speaks at length of the rigorous conduct of the English in that settlement. It was with extreme difficulty that the servant of the minister who had been tipsy, got free from being whipped. While he was there, a young man who had been married two months was accused before the elders of the church by his brother, that he had slept with his wife before marriage. They were both imprisoned and whipped, and during the space of six weeks separated from each other.]

June 14.—I took leave of the huys de Hoop, and arrived the next morning at the mouth of the river. We passed several places where the English were building, and arrived about evening at the Manattes, opposite Fort Amsterdam, when we learned the arrival of two vessels from Holland; the one a company's ship, *den Harnink*, and the other a private ship, *de Brand Van Trogen*, from Hoorn, laden with cattle, belonging to *Joachim Pieterz*, former commander in the East Indies for the king of Denmark.

* New Haven, called by the Dutch *Roodeberg*, or Red Hill.—ED.

1640.

Feb. 10.—I commenced with my plantation four and a half to six miles above the fort, being there a fine situation, having upwards of 31 morgen of corn land, (a morgen is upwards of two acres of ground,) where we had no trees to cut down; and besides for 200 head of cattle in hay land, which is there very valuable, and situated along the river. I intend to go and live half the time there, and visited the plantation of Staten Island, because they did not send me any people from Holland, as was agreed upon in the contract entered into with Frederick de Vries, director of the West India Company.

April 15.—Went with the boat up the river to Fort Orange, in order to examine the lands which are situated on the river. We arrived about even at Tappaen. There is here under the mountains an extensive valley, containing upwards of 200 or 300 morgen clay land, which is three or four feet above water mark. A creek coming from the highlands runs through it, containing numerous good mill seats. I bought this valley from the Indians, being only three miles above my plantations, and five miles from the fort. There was also much corn land, but it was too stony to be ploughed.

April 25.—Opposite Tappaen lays a place called Wickquaesgeck. This land is also fit for corn, but too stony and sandy. We got there good masts. The land is mountainous.

April 26.—Went up the river; passed Averstro; there is a creek forming a fall; the water made here a tremendous noise; the land is high. About noon we passed very high lands, which extended for about a mile. The river is here the narrowest, being only from 500 to 600 paces wide, according to my conjectures. We passed at evening the Dañs Kamer (dancing room).

April 27.—We came to Esopus; there is a creek; and the Indians are in possession of much corn land, but it is stony. Arrived about evening opposite the Catskill. Thus far the shores of the river were very rocky and mountainous, and not well fit to erect dwellings.

April 28.—We arrived at Beeren Eyland; we there found the Indians fishing; the land here is less mountainous, and is low and well adapted for cultivation. About evening we arrived near the island of Brant Pylen, below which the Fort Orange is situated, of which the owners are the Patroons Godyn, Rensselaer, Jan de Laet, and Bloemaert; and they had besides three other farms, which they had very much embellished at the cost of the West India Company; the cattle having been sent with great expense by the Company, and those persons, being commissioners in the New-Netherlands, had well known how to turn

things to their own advantage ; so that the company had nothing but the naked fort, and the commissioners the farms in its vicinity and the trade, and every farmer was a koopman.

July 16.—Cornelius Van Tienhoven, secretary in the New Netherlands, got a commission of the government of the New Netherlands to go at the head of about 100 armed men to the Raritans, a tribe of Indians living near a small river, about five miles behind Staten Island, to ask satisfaction of these Indians for the hostilities committed by them at Staten Island, in the killing of my hogs and those of the Company, which were guarded by a negro, the robbing of the watch house, the attack upon the yacht *de Vrede*, Capt. Cornelius Pieters, and other trespasses committed. Van Tienhoven being arrived there, demanded satisfaction according to his orders ; his troops wanted to kill and plunder, but Tienhoven told them that this was against his orders ; and at last vexed by the insolence of his troops, left them, telling them that they were responsible for the mischief which their disobedience would produce. Van Tienhoven had hardly gone three quarters of a mile from them, when the troops had already shot some of them, and captured the brother of their chief ; for whom Van Tienhoven remained security bound for eighty fathom of *seawan* ; otherwise they would have killed us, and burned the house that belonged to me, David P. de Vries. I learned from Van Tienhoven that a certain Lookmans had mangled very much the body of the chief's brother, standing on a mast with a split wood ; and similar tyranny was committed by others in the service of the Company.

July 20.—Went with my boat to Tappaen, to barter some corn from the Indians. I there met with a boat of the Company, asking from the Christian Indians a contribution of corn. The Indians asked me for what purpose I came ? I told them I wanted to barter corn for cloth. They answered that they could not help me, but I must go up the river. At the same time they tried to get clear of the Company's boat, and would then enter on business with me. They told me that they were much astonished that the Sakima of the fort dared to exact such things ; that he must be a poor fellow ; had not invited them to come and live here, and he came now to take away their corn, &c.

Dec. 10.—I commenced to form an establishment at Vries-sendale. It is a fine place situated along the river, sheltered by a mountain, and furnishing at least 200 head of cattle hay, with 30 morgen corn land, and well adapted for the raising of wheat, containing also some mill sites. In fact I could very well commence with erecting new plantations ; but unluckily I was not seconded by my partner, F. de Vries, who was bound by contract to furnish the necessaries. He was, it seems, of

opinion that colonies are to be erected without people and means, thinking that such was the case in regard to Godyn, Gilliamme Van Rensselaer, Bloemaert, and Jan de Laet; but it was done by them at the cost of the company. Having sent them farmers and cattle, they being at the same time directors of the West India Company and commissioners of the New Netherlands, they saved themselves afterwards by some sinister merchant's trick; and the Company having at that time obtained the fine prize Piet Heyn,* did not think of their lost colony at Fort Orange, and it was indifferent to the directors if any farms were erected there; but these fellows deprived Rensselaer, (who was used to refine pearls and diamonds,) and proceeded so far that they turned out of office their associates. When Michael Pauw got to know that the lands of Fort Orange were appropriated for themselves, he went immediately and had that part below the fort where the Indians cross the river to bring their beavers, put down in his name, and called it Pavonia;† which afterward, when it was known by the Company, occasioned much quarreling and jealousy, and prevented the colonies prospering as they would have done.

1641.

Aug. 20.—Arrived the ship Eyckenboom, and had on board a person named Malyn, who said he was the owner of Staten Island, that it was given to him and to Mr. Vander Horst by the Directors of the Company. I could not believe this, having left the country, in the year 1638, to take possession of this island, and in that time have settled there. I could not think that the Directors of the Company would act in this way, it being granted by the sixth article, and we being the first occupants, and of course it could not be taken from us.

September 1.—My people were murdered on Staten Island by the Indians of Raritans. They told an Indian who was assisting my people, that we should now come to fight for the killing of the men as we formerly had done for the hogs, with the stealing of which they were wrongfully accused. It was done by the servants of the Company, then going to the South river, who landed first at Staten Island to take in wood and water, when they stole the hogs, and the blame was laid on the innocent Indians, who, though cunning enough, will do no harm if no harm is done to them. And so my colony of Staten Island was smothered in its birth, by the management of Governor Kieft, who wanted to avenge the wrongs of his people on the Indians.

* Referring to the naval victory of Admiral Heyn over the Spanish silver fleet in 1628. Lambrechtsen, *supra* p. 94.—Ed.

† The Latin of *pauw* (peacock) is *para*—hence the name *Pavonia*. This colony was opposite Fort Amsterdam, in New Jersey.—Ed.

Sept. 2.—An Indian chief, belonging to the Tankitekes, called Pacham, came to the fort in much triumph, with the hand of a dead man hanging on a stick, saying it was the hand of the chief who had killed our people at Staten Island, who had revenged the wrongs of the Swannekins, whose friend he was.

1642.

As I was every day with Commander Kieft, dining generally at his house, when I happened to be at the fort, he told me one day that he had now built a fine tavern of stone for the English, who, passing continually there with their vessels, in going from New England to Virginia, occasioned him much inconvenience, and could now take lodgings there. I told him this was excellent for travellers, but that we wanted very sadly a church for our people. It was a shame when the English passed there, and saw only a mean barn in which we performed our worship.. In New England, on the contrary, the first thing that they did when they had built some dwellings, was to erect a fine church. We ought to do the same; it being supposed that the West India Company were very zealous in protecting the reformed (Calvinist) church against the Spanish tyranny; that we had good materials for it; fine oak wood; fine building stone; good lime made of oyster shells, being better than our lime in Holland. Kieft asked me then who would like to superintend this building? I replied, the friends of the reformed religion; certainly some of them could be found. He told me that he supposed that I myself was one of them, as I made the proposition, and he supposed I would contribute a hundred guilders? I replied that I agreed to do so; and that as he was Governor, he should be the first. We then elected Jochem Pieterzen Kuyter, who having a good set of hands, and being also a devout Calvinist, would soon procure good timber. We also elected Damen, because he lived near the fort; and thus we four formed the first consistory to superintend the building of the church. The Governor should furnish a few thousand guilders of the Company's money, and we would try to raise the remainder by subscription. The church should be built in the fort, where it would not be exposed to the depredations of the Indians. Soon the building was started of stone, and was covered by English carpenters with oak shingles, which by rains and winds become blue, and look like slate.

About this time a man named Claes Rademaker was murdered by an Indian. When the Indian was asked why he had murdered the man, he said that when the fort was built, he with his uncle and another Indian came to barter some beaver skins;

when some of the Swannekins robbed his uncle of his skins and killed him. He was at that time a small boy, and resolved that when he should become grown to take vengeance of the Dutch, and no opportunity was offered until now. Commander Kieft sent out parties of armed men to retaliate for the murder, but they all miscarried. When Wilhelm Kieft saw that all his attempts failed, and that it would occasion some mischief, and the people began to complain and upbraid him that he was locked up in a good fort, out of which he had not slept one night as long as he had been there; that the wars which he wanted to make were only calculated to give in bad accounts to the Company—when he saw that every thing was laid at his door, he called a meeting of the community, and proposed to them to elect twelve men, who should with him take the reins of government.* I was elected one of the number. Gov. Kieft proposed the question, whether or not the death of Claes Redemaker should be retaliated? and whether we should declare war against the Indians? It was answered that this required time, as the cattle were all spread through the woods, and the people themselves scattered in all directions; that it was not advisable to fight the Indians before we were more numerous, as the English were also in possession of our towns and villages. I then told Commander Kieft, that it would not be beneficial to war against the Indians; that he was the cause why my people of the new colony on Staten Island, in the year 1640, had been murdered; that I knew very well that the Directors of the West India Company were very much opposed to any hostilities against the Indians; and when we were erecting a colony in 1630, on South river, at Swaenendaël, on the Hoeren creek, and all our people were murdered by the Indians, occasioned by some trifling quarrels of our commander, Gilles Osset, as I have narrated in the beginning of this my journal—it was then requested of the West India Company to be allowed to war against the Indians; but the Company did not permit it, and gave as a reason that we must live in good harmony with the natives. I related this to the Governor Kieft, but he did not wish to listen to me. Indeed, the Directors of the Company ought to have been more careful, and better acquainted with the officers they sent.

I shortly after met with an Indian who was intoxicated. He told me that the Swannekins had sold to him brandy mixed with water, and stolen his dress of beaver skins; that he was going home for his bow and arrows, and would shoot one of them. I advised him not to do so, and left him. I was scarce home,

* See below, p. 277, extracts from the Colonial Records in confirmation of this statement of De Vries.—ED.

when in came some of the chiefs of Ackingsack and Reckawangank, not far distant from us, who told me that one of their Indians, being intoxicated, had shot a man dead who was working on the roof of the house of Mr. Van der Vorst. They asked me what they should do; that they dared not enter the fort; that they were willing to pay 100 or 200 fathom of seawan (wampum) to pacify the widow. I told them to go with me to the fort and speak with the Commander; but they dreaded to go there, fearing that he would not let them depart again; but I gave them courage, and promised that I would see them home again. At last they consented, went with me to the fort, and we related to the Commander what had happened. He told the chiefs that they must deliver up the man who had committed the murder. They replied that they could not, he having run off to the Tanditokes; but if the Commander would permit them, they would try to satisfy the widow for the death of her husband with seawan. And they said that the Europeans were the cause of it; that we ought not to sell brandy to the young Indians, which made them crazy, they not being used to their liquors; and they saw very well that even among our people who were used to drink it, when drunk they committed foolish actions, and often fought with knives. And therefore to prevent all mischief, they wished we would sell no more spirituous liquors to the Indians; and fearing that the Governor would keep them there, they told him that they would endeavour to take the man and deliver him to the Governor, when they took their leave; but going home they told me that it was impossible for them to deliver the man, he being also the son of a chief, and so it was dropped.

1643.

Feb. 22. Hostilities commenced about this time between the Indians, the Mayekanders, who came from Fort Orange, and those of Wickquaesgeck, Tappaen and vicinity, whom they wanted to put under contribution. Eighty or ninety Indians armed with muskets came from Fort Orange to fight them. Four or five hundred of the other Indians came to me, begging for assistance. I told them they ought to be ashamed, they being so many hundreds to fear 80 or 90 men; that I had heard them boasting that they were good soldiers, even as good as Mannetoe himself; besides those of Fort Orange were our friends, and therefore would not meddle with their affairs. Being only five of us in the house, I went to the fort and requested of the Governor some soldiers, in order to remain master in my house. The Governor told me that he had no soldiers, that I should remain there that night, and he would see in the

morning what could be done. I remained there that night. The next day in the morning came several flocks of Indians going to Pavonia, near the oyster bank, and encamped there. Some of them crossed the river and came to the fort. I spoke to some of them, who told me that the Indians had left my place. These Indians went to the farm of Corlaers, where there were some Indians of Rockewack, opposite the fort on Long-Island, amongst whom was a chief whom they called Hummerus, whom I knew well.

Feb. 24. Sitting at the table with the Governor, he began to tell me a piece of his mind. He had a great desire, he said, to make these savages wipe their chops; that he had ordered Jan Claes Damen with Jacob Planck, who had requested it, to commence the job. I answered him that they were not calculated for this undertaking; and that such things could not be done but by the order of the twelve men, and not without my consent, as I was the head-man of that committee. "Consider once, sir," said I, "what good it will do—knowing that we lost our settlements by mere jangling with the Indians at Swanendael, in the Hoeren Creek, in 1630, when thirty-two of our men were murdered; and now lately, in 1640, at Staten-Island, where my people were murdered, occasioned by your petty contrivances of killing the Indians of Raritan and mangling the brother of their chief for mere bagatelle." But it seems my words would take no hold of him. Every thing was settled by his assertions about this slaughter, desiring now to perform a feat worthy of the ancient heroes of Rome. And this was resolved upon without warning the Dutch, who were settled all over the country, to be on their guard and to escape the vengeance of the surviving Indians, as it was certain he could not kill all of them. Having now amply discussed this intention during the whole dinner, we arose. The Governor asked me if I would like to see his new parlour which he had been building? While there, seeing all the soldiers ready to cross the river to go to Pavonia to commence the massacre, I again spoke to the Governor, Wilhelm Kieft, and told him to desist from this undertaking. "You will go," said I, "to break the Indian's heads; but it is our nation that you are going to murder. Nobody in the country knows any thing of it. My family will be murdered again, and every thing destroyed." He told me I might be assured there would be no danger. He would send some soldiers for the defence of my place; but these were promises spent in the air.

It was in the night between the 25th and 26th of February, 1643, that they executed these fine deeds. I remained that night at the Governor's, and took a seat in the kitchen near the fire; and at midnight I heard loud shrieks. I went out to the parapets

of the fort, and looked towards Pavonia; I saw nothing but the flash of the guns, and heard nothing more of the yells and clamour of the Indians, who were butchered during their sleep. I again went to the fire. Shortly after I had been there, an Indian man and woman whom I knew entered, and told me that they had fled from Pavonia; that the Indians of Fort Orange had surprised them, and that they came there for shelter. I told them immediately to go away, it not being advisable for them to seek refuge here; and that it was not the savages of Fort Orange who were murdering those of Pavonia, but it was the Swannekins, the Dutch themselves. They then asked me how they would get away out of the fort? I conducted them out of the door where there was no sentinel, and they went into the woods. About day the soldiers returned again to the fort, having murdered eighty Indians. And this was the feat worthy of the heroes of old Rome—to massacre a parcel of Indians in their sleep, to take the children from the breasts of their mothers, and to butcher them in the presence of their parents, and throw their mangled limbs into the fire or water! Other sucklings had been fastened to little boards, and in this position they were cut in pieces! Some were thrown into the river, and when the parents rushed in to save them, the soldiers prevented their landing, and let parents and children drown! Children of five or six years old were murdered, and some aged decrepid men cut to pieces. Those who had escaped these horrors, and found shelter in bushes and reeds, making in the morning their appearance to beg some food, or warm themselves, were killed in cold blood, or thrown into the fire or water. Some came running to us in the country having their hands cut off. Some had their arms and legs cut off—some who had their legs cut off, were supporting their entrails with their arms. Others were mangled in other horrid ways, in part too shocking to be conceived; and these miserable wretches, as well as some of our people, did not know but they had been attacked by the Maquas of Fort Orange.

After these exploits the soldiers were rewarded for their services, and heartily thanked with a shaking of the hands by Governor and Director Kieft. On the same night forty Indians were attacked in their sleep and murdered at Corlaer's Hook and at Corlaer's plantation.

As soon as the Indians learned that it was the Swannekins who had treated them in this manner, they murdered in the country all the men they could find, but did not kill any females or children. They burned all the houses and farms, barns, grain, haystacks; destroying every thing they could lay hands upon; in one word, they carried on a most destructive war. They burned my farm and barn, destroyed my cattle, tobacco, and

every thing they found. My people saved themselves by taking refuge in my dwelling, which, being constructed with embrasures, they defended themselves through these. My people being thus stationed for defence, the very same Indian who came to me that horrid night when I was sitting near the fire at the Governor's, and whom I had conducted out of the fort, made his appearance. He told the other Indians that I was a good chief, that I had assisted him, and was very much opposed to the murdering of their people. They cried then to my people not to fire; that if they had not destroyed my cattle and farm, they would not do it now; they would now leave every thing as it was, and break up the siege of the house.

I now went to Governor Kieft, and asked him if it was not now as I had foretold, that he was only murdering a parcel of Christians? Who should now make good our damages? He did not give me any answer. He only said he was astonished that none of the savages came to the fort. I asked him why they should come to him, who had treated them so barbarously?

March 4. Three Indians bearing a white flag came near the fort, and wanted to be heard. The governor asked who would like to go? Only one, besides myself, Jacob Olferszen, had the courage to go. We approached the Indians, who told us that they were sent by their chief to ask the reason why we had murdered some of his people, who had never done any harm to the Dutch? We told them that we did not know that any of his tribe were amongst the number. They told us we must go and speak with their chief, who had fled some miles off near the sea-shore; and as we knew that they were well disposed to us, we ventured to go with them. We arrived about evening at Rechquaakie. We found the chief, who had only one eye, with 200 or 300 Indians, and about thirty horses. He brought us into his house, and offered us what he had, as oysters, fish, &c. He told us we were tired now, and must rest, and in the morning we would speak about business. I had occasion during the night to go out of the house. It being moonlight, an Indian approached me and requested me to come into his dwelling. When I had entered the house, and saw the man in the light, I knew him, as he lived only half a mile from my farm Vriessendaël. He was there with his wife. They told me that I was a good chief, and that I came to *Rancontynmarinet*, that is, to make peace. I asked them how it came that they were so far from their family. They told me they had been a hunting with their people &c. I now returned to the house of the chief, as day began to break. We were awakened and led by one of the Indians in the woods upwards of 400 paces from the house, where we found sixteen chiefs from Long-Island, who placed

themselves in a circle around us. One of them had a bundle of small sticks. He was the best speaker, and commenced his speech. He related, that when we first arrived on their shores, we were sometimes in want of food; they gave us their beans and corn, and let us eat oysters and fish; and now for recompense we murdered their people. He here laid down one little stick—this was one point of accusation. The men whom in your first trips you left here to barter your goods till your return, these men have been treated by us as we would have done by our eye-balls. We gave them our daughters for wives, by whom they had children. There are now several Indians, who came from the blood of the Swanneckins and that of Indians; and then their own blood were now murdered in such villanous manner. He laid down another stick. I became tired, seeing that he had a great many sticks in his hand, and told him that I knew all that; that if some of their Indians were amongst those of Long-Island, the Dutch did not know it; and if it were the case, they should go with us to the fort, and the governor would give them presents to make peace with them. Their speech finished, they presented each of us with ten fathom of seawan, (every fathom being equal to four guilders.) They arose and told us, that they would go with us to the fort, and speak with our governor. We went to the canoes. Being there, an Indian armed with bows and arrows came running to us. He came six miles distance from a chief who had not been with us, and asked the other Indians if they were fools, to go to the fort to such villains who had murdered their friends? When so many chiefs come to the fort, said he, the Governor will keep them all, so that all the Indians would be without chiefs; that the chief from whom he came disapproved very much that they should go. They then asked me, if I understood what had been said? I told them that this Indian was wrong; that if they would go to the fort, they would find the contrary, and return with presents. One of the chiefs who knew me very well, told them that upon my word they would go to the fort; that the Indians had never heard any lie from me, as was the case with many Swanneckins. We then went, twenty in a canoe, and arrived about 3 o'clock, P. M. at the fort. Went to W. Kieft. Peace was made, and some presents given to the chiefs, and we requested them to bring those chiefs who had lost so many of their men also to the fort; that the governor wanted to make peace with them, and give them presents. Some of them then went out, and returned with Indians of Ackingsack and Tappaen, and their vicinity, and the chiefs of those soon came also. The governor gave them some presents, but they were not well satisfied and parted grumbling.

July 20.—One of the chiefs told me he was melancholy. I

asked him the reason. He said there are many of the young Indians much dissatisfied, and want to war with you. The one having lost his father, the other his mother, a third again his uncle or some other of his friends; that the presents given bore no proportion to their loss and is therefore no recompense. He had tried to satisfy them by presents out of his own purse, but could not reconcile them. Wherefore he advised me not to go alone in the woods, there being no danger from those who knew me, but it might happen that I should meet with Indians who did not know me, and would then kill me. I requested him to go with me to Governor Kieft and tell him the same things. We went to the fort, and the chief told the Governor the same things he had communicated to me. The Governor told him, that he being a chief ought to kill those boobies who wanted to war again with the Swannekings, and he would give him for recompense 200 fathom of seawan. He answered that he could do no such things; that he had endeavoured to quiet them, but feared he should not long succeed, they calling continually for vengeance.

Oct. 1.—Nine Indians came to Pavonia, at which place were stationed three or four soldiers, who were there for defence of a farmer, Jacob Staffelsz. They were well disposed towards this man, and did not want to kill him; so they went to him and pretended that they wanted to cross the river and go to the fort. When he was gone, they came under the cloak of friendship to the soldiers, who having no muskets in their hands, every one was killed, except a fore-son of the wife of Staffelsz, whom they carried off to Tappaen. They burned the farm and all the houses at Pavonia, and thus commenced again a new war. The next day the Governor came to my house, with the step-father of the little boy who had been carried off by the Indians. He asked me if I would go to the Indians to ransom this boy, as nobody dared to go amongst them but myself. I told them I would procure one or two Indians, but when they should be in the fort no harm must be done to them, because I would make myself responsible for them. I then went over to Long Island, and brought with me two Indians to go to Tappaen to free the boy. When I came over, every one wanted to kill the Indians, and I had much ado to prevent it. I brought them on board of a privateer which was then in the river, and sailed with them to go and free the boy. When I returned with the boy, I went to the fort to take leave of the Governor. I told Wilhelm Kieft, that I doubted not that vengeance for the innocent blood which he had shed in his murderings, would sooner or later come on his head. And then I left him, and sailed on board of a Rotterdam fisherman's boat to Virginia, in order to proceed from thence to Europe.

[The remainder of this voyage consists only of local descriptions of some of the Virginia coasts and grounds, of interest only to navigators. When he reached the South river, he found the Swedes had taken possession of many places, and built several forts. The first fort of the Swedes he found on the Varckenkill. They fired at his boat, and ordered him to strike his flag. The commander of this fort was Capt. Printz. It appears from the sequel of this narrative that in 1630, when De Vries had a settlement on Swanendael, no Swedes were known on the river, and now they already had three forts. The poor Dutch were robbed in this way in the north by the sober and pious Englishmen, and in the south by the Swedes, who it seems were not very sober, as they bought from the captain of the vessel a good quantity of wine and sweet meats. And De Vries says, that Printz was a man weighing upwards of 400 lbs., and doubts not that he drank three drinks at every meal; and that neither there nor in Virginia, was intoxication, or incontinence, punished with whipping. Fort Nassau lay three miles higher up the river, where were yet some of the people of the West India company. The Swedes had also a fort at the Minquaes Kill, with a few houses. The first fort was called Elsenburg, on which they had eight metal guns of twelve pounds; the second was Christina, and the third New Gottenberg. They then went to James River; arrived on the 22d at Jamestown, and spent one night at the house of Capt. Matthews, who was among the first that settled in Virginia. On the 23th he went on board, and arrived May 1, 1644, in the Downs, and on the 21st June, at his *Patria Hoorn*.—TRANS.*]

A few extracts from a Description of New-Netherlands in 1649, contained in the Du Simitière MSS.

WHEN the Dutch first arrived, the Indians never having seen a vessel, nor knowing that there existed any other country but theirs, did not know what to make of those large ships. They thought they had dropped from heaven. Some thought it was the devil; others again that it was a large fish, or sea monster. We ourself have often heard all this said by the Indians.

* I saw in the small map of the New-Netherlands on the North River the word *rack*, often repeated. This word is obsolete; its signification being an almost straight running part of a river or road.—TRANS.

The forts situated on the different rivers were particularly erected to protect the possessions of the colonists, and prevent foreign nations from settling on the lands of the Company. This nevertheless has not prevented some, particularly the English, from building towns and villages from Cape Cod, (where in 1609 the arms of their High Mightinesses were erected, and called by us New-Holland,) to the distance of eighteen miles from the North river; the British having now a village called Stam-Foort, from which a man can walk to the North River and return again in one day. Also the English of New-Haven have erected a house of commerce on the east side of Magdalenen island, not more than eighteen miles from the North river—this island being only seventy and a half miles above Fort Amsterdam, and is only erected there that they might take to themselves the whole of the trade of the North river, or to ruin the same. They also eight or nine years ago endeavoured to purchase from the Indians large tracts of land situated three or four miles distant from the colony of Rensselaerwyck, This they now want to make appear as consistent with their most purified consciences; notwithstanding that it is mentioned in the grant of King James that they should remain, the one from the other, a distance of one hundred miles.

All the islands, bays, rivers, havens, creeks and places far beyond Cape Cod, have received Dutch names, because it was the Dutch who first discovered them, and this is well known to the English. But this being against their interest, they want to make it appear that they know nothing about it. Even those of Fresh river have offered to compensate, give an annual revenue, or to buy out. Certainly this shows that they know well that we are the right owners, and that it seemed that they began to feel that it was not exactly consistent with their most puritanical consciences. Nevertheless they have from time to time been able to find out some palliative to keep that conscience at ease, and have continued to take our land.

[It seems that all our Dutch writers who spent some time in New-Netherlands, were more exasperated against the pious New-Englanders than against the Virginians.—TRANS.]

Also those of Rhode Island (*Roode Eyland*, which literally signifies Red Island) when they were at variance with those of the Bay, begged shelter and to be adopted amongst the Dutch. In short it is thus situated, that the English know very well the Dutch, when it is their interest to know them; or if they can use them as a cloak to cover when necessary some of their deeds; but otherwise they do not mind them a fig, and set them up as a laughing stock; and this is only produced by their egotism and self-interest.

Long Island, which by its fine situation, noble bays and havens, as well as by its fine lands, may be called the crown of the province, is also entirely invaded by them, except at the western extremity, where are two Dutch villages, Breukelen and Amersfoort, which are not of much consequence, and a few English villages, as Gravesant, Greenwyck, Mespat, where during the war the inhabitants were expelled, and since confiscated by the Director Kieft. But the owners having appealed, it is yet in *statu quo*. There are not many inhabitants now. Also Vlissingen, a fine village, well stocked with cattle, and fourthly and last, Heemsted, better than the others and very rich in cattle.

But as we are now on Long Island, we will (as it seems the British are craving this in particular) say a little more about it. From the beginning of our settling here, this island has been inhabited by the Dutch. In 1640, a Scotchman came to Director Kieft, having an English commission, and claimed the Island, but his pretence was not much regarded, and he departed again, without effecting any thing except to rouse a little of the mob. Afterwards the Director Kieft subdued and destroyed the British who wished to trade in Oyster Bay; and thus it remained for some time. Another Scotchman came in 1647, named Captain Forester, and claimed this island in the name of the dowager van Sterling, whose governor he pretended to be. He had a commission dated the 18th year of king James's reign, but it was not signed by the king, nor any body else. An old seal was attached to it, which was almost entirely obliterated. His commission covered the whole of Long-Island, with five surrounding islands, as well as the main land. He also had a power of attorney from Maria dowager van Sterling. Nevertheless the man valued these papers much, and said on his arrival that he would examine the commission of the Governor Stuyvesant. If it was better than his, he would give it up; and if not, Stuyvesant must. In short, the Director took copies of these papers, and sent the man over in the Valkemer, but the vessel touching in England, he did not arrive in Holland.

DOCUMENTS FROM THE COLONIAL RECORDS.

Aug. 30, 1645. This day, being the 30th August, appeared in Fort Amsterdam before the Director and Council in the presence of the whole Commonalty, the Sachems in their own behalf, and for Sachems in their neighbourhoods, viz: Oratany, chief of Ackkinkeshacky, SeseKennick and Willem, chief of Tappaans and Reckgawawank, Pokam, Pennekeck, who were

here yesterday, and did give their power of attorney to the former, and took upon them the responsibility for those of Ouany and its vicinity, viz: those of Majanwetinnemin, those of Marechhourick, Nayeck and their neighbours, and Aepjen, who personally appeared, speaking in behalf of Wappinex, Wiquaeshe, Sintsings, and Kichtawanghs.

1. They conclude with us a solid and durable peace, which they promise to keep sincerely, as we oblige ourselves to do in the same manner.

2. And if (which God in his mercy avert) there should arise any difficulty between us and them, war shall not be renewed, but they shall complain to our governor, and we to their sachems; and if any person should be murdered or killed, justice shall be directly administered on the murderer, and henceforth we shall live together in amity and peace.

3. They may not come on the island Manhattan with their arms in the neighbourhood of Christian dwellings; neither will we approach their villages with our guns, except we are conducted thither by a savage to give them warning.

4. And whereas there is yet among them an English girl whom they promised to conduct to the English at Stamford, which they yet engage to do; and if she is not conducted there, she shall be guided here in safety, while we promise to pay them the ransom which has been promised by the English.*

All which we promise to keep religiously throughout all New-Netherlands. Done in Fort Amsterdam, in the open air, by the Director and Council in New-Netherlands, and the whole Commonalty, called together for this purpose; in the presence of the Maquas ambassadors, who were solicited to assist in this negotiation, as arbitrators, and Cornelis Anthonisson, their interpreter and arbitrator with them in this solemn affair. Done as above.

The original treaty was signed with the mark of Sisindogo, the mark of Claes Norman, the mark of Oratany, the mark of Auronge, the mark of Sesechemis, the mark of William of Tappaan. William Kieft, La Montagne, the mark of Jacob Stoffelsen, Jan Onderhill, Francis Donthey, George Baxter, Richard Smith, Gysbert Opdyck, the mark of Aepjen, Sachem of the Mohicans, Jan Evertson Bout, Oloft Stevenson, Cornelis van Hoykens, the mark of Cornelis Teunissen.

By my order, CORNELIUS VAN TIENHOVEN, Secret.

* This is supposed to have been a daughter of the famous Ann Hutchinson, who was banished from Boston for religious heresy, and took refuge among the Dutch near Stamford, where she was killed by the Indians in Sept. 1643. Her daughter, eight years of age, was taken prisoner, and afterwards restored by the intervention of Governor Kieft.—Ed.

Extract from the translated Colonial Records, in the office of the Secretary of State, at Albany. Vol. II. p. 137.*

“November, 1641, ARTICLES proposed to the chiefs and masters of families, subjects to the West India Company, and residing here, by the Honourable Director and Council of New-Netherlands:—1. If it is not just that the murder lately committed by a savage upon Claes Smits, be avenged and punished; and in case that the Indians will not surrender the murderer at our requisition, if it is not just to destroy the whole village to which he belongs? 2. In what manner and when this ought to be executed? 3. By whom can this be effected?”

“Answer of the twelve select men chosen by the commonalty to answer the above Articles. To the first: They deem it in every respect expedient that this murder be punished and avenged, as it was proposed by the Honourable Director, while God and the opportunity ought to be taken in consideration; meanwhile all the means may be prepared and provided, and especially the Director General is requested to provide a sufficient number of *coats of mail* for the soldiers, as well as for the freemen who are willing to pay their share in these expenses. 2. That meanwhile the kind intercourse and the trade in corn should be continued with them as before, till God’s will and proper opportunity is offered; but that no person of whatever state or condition he may be, shall presume to adopt any hostile measures against the savages either by water or by land, except against the murderer, while all are warned to be on their guard. And further, when the Indians are on their hunting excursions, then it may be advisable to divide ourselves into two parties, viz., the one to land near Rapela, the other party by Miqua’s creek, to surprise them from both sides; while the Honourable Director may employ in this expedition as many negroes of the strongest and most alert, as he can spare, and arm them with a tomahawk and a small half pike.

“3. Whereas we do not acknowledge another chief besides the Honourable Director, who is as well our ruler as he is the Commander of our soldiery, therefore the Honourable Director, to prevent confusion, ought to lead the van, while we offer our persons to follow his steps and obey his commands.

“We deem it further advisable, that the Honourable Director send further once, twice, yea, even for the third time, a shallop to demand the surrender of the murderer in a friendly manner,

* See above, p. 266.

to punish him according to his deserts, to lure the savages into security, without using any threats.

"On which the following persons (the select men, who had been chosen for the purpose) took their oath to keep their advice secret, viz. Jaques Bentyn, Moryn Adriaensen, Jan Damen, Hendrick Jansen, David Pieterszen de Vries, Jacob Stoffels, Abraham Molenaer, Frederick Lubbers, Jochen Pieterszen, Gerrit Derksen, George Rapalje, Abraham Planc. *So truly help them God.*"

In addition to the foregoing answer to the questions proposed by the Governor, (or *Director General*, as he was usually styled,) the advisory opinion of each of the twelve was taken separately, and most of them were duly recorded; as the opinion of De Vries is not entered upon the Records with the rest, it was probably omitted on account of his disagreement with his associates and the Governor as to the course expedient to be pursued towards the Indians. That he was opposed to war in any event, appears clearly enough from his own account of the matter.

The following document, which we have also copied from the Colonial Records, may be interesting in this connexion.

"Sergeant Rodolf is commanded and authorized to take under his command a troop of soldiers, and lead them to Pavonia, and drive away and destroy the savages being behind Jan Even-sens, but to spare as much as it is possible their wives and children, and to take the savages prisoners. He may watch there for the proper opportunity to make his assault successful; for which end Hans Steen, who is well acquainted with every spot on which the savages are skulking, accompanies him. He therefore shall consult with the aforesaid Hans Steen and the corporals. The exploit ought to be executed at night with the greatest caution and prudence. *Our God may bless the expedition.*

"Done 25 February, 1643."

A Fast day was appointed for the fourth of March following, in consequence of the troubles with the Indians, which continued to disturb the colony. Peace being at length restored, the government ordered a general *Thanksgiving* to be observed throughout the limits of the New-Netherlands. It is generally supposed that this festival was peculiar to the Puritan colonies; but its occasional occurrence, at least, among the Dutch, is fully shown by the following Proclamation of Governor Kieft, issued in accordance with a resolution of the Council, August 31st, 1645:—

"Whereas, God Almighty has been pleased, by his grace and mercy, and in addition to the numerous blessings that we have enjoyed, to bestow on this country that long desired peace

with the savages—so has it been deemed becoming to proclaim this good tidings throughout the New-Netherlands, with the intention that in all places where there are any English or Dutch churches, God Almighty shall be thanked and praised, on the sixth day of September next, in the forenoon. The words of the text must be applicable to the occasion, and the sermon likewise.”

WOUTER van TWILLER, Director General.

This personage of whom De Vries speaks with so little respect, was superseded by William Kieft in March, 1638. The following deposition appears in the records of that period, and tends to confirm the charge of incompetency brought against him by our author:—

“This day appeared before me, Cornelis van Tienhoven, Secretary in the New-Netherlands, at the request of William Kieft, Director General of the privileged West India Company in New-Netherlands, Jacob Hoffelsen, Overseer, aged about thirty-seven years, Gillis Petersen van der Gouw, house carpenter, aged twenty-seven years, Tymen Jansen,* ship carpenter, aged thirty-six years, who jointly declared in presence of the undersigned witnesses, that it is true, that in the year 1638, the twenty-eighth day of March, being the day on which William Kieft arrived here in the ship the *Haring*, said Director Kieft did find Fort Amsterdam in a decayed state; that it was open on every side, so that nothing could prevent to go in or out of the same except at the stone point; all the guns from their carriages; five farms without tenants thrown in commons without one single creature remaining in property to the Company, all having been disposed of in other hands. Further, every vessel was in the worst condition, except the yacht Prince William, which might be employed, besides a new one on the stocks. The house in the fort required considerable repair; so likewise five other brick houses, frame houses, the Church, the lodge and smith’s shop. One grist and saw mill in operation; another out of repair, and a third burned. The place of the magazine for the wares and merchandize with difficulty can be discovered where it once stood. Besides this the late Director van Twiller has undertaken different works on account of other persons. All which we witnesses declare to be true, willing if required to sanction this by a solemn oath, and this we attested, to pay our homage to the truth, particularly when requested to do it.

“Done in Fort Amsterdam, 16th April, 1639.

* Anglicé, *Timothy Johnson*.

"Signed as above, and witnessed by Wybrant Petersen and Mauntz Jansen."

Van Twiller continued to reside for some time at New-Amsterdam after he had retired from the office of director general. The following document, showing a transaction to which he was a party, is taken from the first volume of the Colonial Records, pp. 3—4, which commence with the administration of Gov. Kieft :—

"This day appeared before me, Cornelis van Tienhoven, Secretary in behalf of the privileged West India Company, here in New-Netherlands, the Honourable, Wise and Prudent de Heer* William Kieft, from one side, Director General of New-Netherlands, and the Honourable, Wise and Prudent de Heer Wouter Van Twiller, ci-devant Director General, from the other side, who amicably agreed about the rent of the farm (*bouvery*) No. 1, belonging to the Directors of the privileged West India Company, Department of Amsterdam, viz. that the noble Director Kieft has rented to de Heer Wouter van Twiller, who too acknowledges to have rented said farm, and well for three successive years, to begin May 1st, 1638, and to end May 1st, 1641, and this for the sum of two hundred and fifty *caroli guilders* annually; besides this a fair sixth part of all the produce with which God shall bless the field, either growing on the spot, or gathered in shocks, as then may be agreed to receive by the present Director; with the stipulation that said Honourable van Twiller shall be obliged at the expiration of the said three years to sow again said farm, and to keep said lands in good order, for all which said contracting parties submit their persons and property, real and personal, present and future, without exception, to the supreme court of the Province of Holland, besides any other courts of justice, all in good faith without any fraud or malice. In truth of which two similar copies have been made, signed by the respective parties.

"Done at the Fort of New-Amsterdam in New-Netherlands, this twenty-second day of April, Anno Domini, 1638.

(Signed) WILLIAM KIEFT,
 WOUTER VAN TWILLER."

* The translator renders this title by the English "Sir," ("Sir William Kieft,") which is evidently a mistake, as the title of *Sir* belongs to a knight, in Dutch, *Ridder*. *Lambrechtsen* applies the address *de Heer* to Rev. Mr. Miller, (*de Heer Miller*) with the force of little more than *Mr*.

† A Dutch guilder or florin, of which two and a half are equivalent to a dollar.—*Ed.*

VII.

EXTRACTS
FROM
THE NEW WORLD,
OR
A DESCRIPTION OF THE WEST INDIES.

BY
JOHN de LAET,

Director of the Dutch West India Company, &c.

Translated from the original Dutch,

BY THE EDITOR.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

IN tracing the history of American colonization few writers have taken the trouble to examine fully the original authorities to be found among those nations that were the first to engage in enterprizes to the new world. The English, the French, and the Dutch, were nearly equally active at one period in planting civilization upon the coasts of North America; but the jealousy enkindled by the common pursuit of commercial advantages led to a mutual disposition to undervalue each other's share in the glory of maritime discovery. The right of occupying the country thus came into dispute among the different powers, and conflicting claims of title arose, that often rendered the shores of the new world a scene of bitter and sometimes bloody contention. It is obvious enough that in such a state of things the truth of history would require something more for its support than the partial statements of any one side in the controversy; and in order to arrive at a satisfactory result it would be necessary to compare the pretensions of the various rival states with one another. Thus while England extended her claim to the whole country from Labrador to Florida, and conferred upon it the names of New England and Virginia, the French were not far behind in asserting their title to a jurisdiction of nearly equal extent, who, blotting out from their maps the English names, denominated the whole New France. The Dutch were more modest in their pretensions, as well as more equitable in the distribution of territory; conceding to their rivals what each seemed to have fairly merited by successful efforts to colonize the country, they inscribed on their maps the names of New France, Virginia, and New England, but at the same time set up a claim of their own to those parts of the North American continent that had been first explored, if not discovered, and colonized by themselves, to which they gave the name of NEW NETHERLANDS. The careful historian before undertaking

——— *tantas componere lites,*

will have recourse to the statements of the respective parties wherever they are to be found, and diligently investigate the grounds upon which they severally rest.

The ultimate predominance of England, together with the general spread of her language and literature throughout so large a part of the new world to the exclusion of almost every other, has given a manifest advantage to the advocates of her original claims of title over those of her less fortunate rivals. American historians have written with English prejudices, expatiating with ardour upon the heroic enterprize and religious zeal that led to the colonization of Virginia and New England, while they have almost forgotten to record the earlier sprinklings of French hamlets on the St. Lawrence and the bay of Fundy, as well as the undaunted and persevering efforts of the Dutch skippers in exploring the coast from Cape Cod to Chesapeake bay, and dotting the banks of its rivers and estuaries with hardy settlers before an English ship had ascended the Hudson or the Delaware. The obstacles presented by the intervention of a foreign language, in which alone many of the earlier accounts are to be found, have contributed without doubt to increase the measure of injustice on the part of our own writers, especially in the case of the Dutch, whose language presents too repulsive an exterior to induce even the historical student to explore its treasures. Thus the indefatigable annalist, the late Dr. Holmes, whose noble work is a monument of patient labour and learned research, ascribes the discovery of Long Island Sound and Connecticut river to Thomas Dermer, an Englishman, in 1619; when, had he perused the Dutch authorities of that period, he would not have hesitated to give the credit of the achievement to skipper Block, who, in the year 1614, sailed through the East river into the Sound, and ascended the Connecticut as far, or nearly so, as the present site of Hartford.*

The Dutch author to whom we are chiefly indebted for recording the early voyages of his countrymen to the new world, is JOHN DE LAET, one of the most distinguished of European geographers, from whose principal work the following extracts have been made. He was a native of Antwerp, but appears to have resided during the latter part of his career at Leyden, where the greater

* See below, p. 236.

part of his works were issued from the unrivalled press of the Elzevirs. His last publication was an edition of Vitruvius on Architecture, which he dedicated to Christina, Queen of Sweden, in 1649; he died during the same year.* Among his writings not the least interesting is the controversy in which he was engaged with his countryman the celebrated Grotius, or *Hugo de Groot*, as the name was written in his vernacular tongue, on the origin of the native American race. De Laet, in the first instance, published an edition of the essay of Grotius on that subject with annotations, in 1643; to which the latter replied, and De Laet afterwards rejoined. Both wrote in the Latin language.

But the work on which his reputation chiefly rests, was entitled the "New World, or a Description of the West Indies," &c., originally composed in Dutch, and published in a black-letter folio at Leyden, in 1625.† It was inscribed by the author to the States General of the United Provinces in a handsome dedication, dated at Leyden, November 15th, 1624. This work contains the earliest published account of which we have any knowledge relative to the Dutch settlements on our river; tracing the discoveries of Hudson and other navigators upon the coast, whose MS. journals of their voyages the author evidently had before him when he wrote. This circumstance is distinctly stated in his preface, in which, after enumerating the various publications to which he had been indebted, he adds, "Together with various manuscript journals of different shipmasters and steersmen, whose names we have here and there mentioned in our descriptions." (*Beneffens verscheyden gheschreven Journalen van verscheyden Schippers ende Stierlieden, welcker namen wy hier ende daer in onse Beschryvinge hebben uyd'gedrackt.*) De Laet not only mentions the name of Hudson, but quotes several passages from his journal, the more interesting as no other portions of it are known to be in existence;‡ the meagre log-book kept by his mate, Robert Juet, being all that

* Biographie Universelle, t. xxiii. ART. LAET.

† The title is as follows; "NIEUWE WERELDT ofte Beschryvinghe van WEST INDIEN, uit veelderhande Schriften ende aen-teekeninghen van verscheyden natien by een versammelt Door Joannes de Laet. Ende met noodighe kaerten ende tafels voorsien. Tot Leyden, In de Druckerye van Isaack Elzevier. Anno 1625."

See below, pp. 299, 300.

is preserved of the original accounts of the voyage during which he discovered the noble river that bears his name.* It is equally clear that our author possessed the journals of Adriaen Block, and Cornelius Jacobson May, whose explorations of the coast were made from 1614 to 1623.

The name of New Netherlands first appears in the work of De Laet, who describes its boundaries, and assigns the grounds on which the Dutch claimed the country. The period at which he wrote is the one in which the first attempts are supposed to have been made for the regular settlement of a colony, although trading houses had been previously erected on the river. The colonial records seem to point, though indirectly, to that date, as the commencement of a regular administration of affairs, under Peter Minuit as governor; and a respectable Dutch author, who wrote the *Annals of the Netherlands*, briefly alludes to the settlement of "*Nieuw Nederlandt*, nu *Nieuw-jork*," by several Dutch families (*huisgezinnen*), under the year 1624.† The publication of De Laet without doubt exerted a favourable influence on the enterprize, which was begun under the auspices of the West India Company, of which he became a director. It was not, however, until the year 1630, that the principal impulse was given to the growth of the infant colony. A charter of privileges for the benefit of individuals who would transport settlers to the New Netherlands, or emigrate thither, was then promulgated by the West India Company, which induced many influential persons to engage in the settlement of the country. Under this charter, Van Rensselaer planted his colony near Fort Orange, one hundred and fifty miles from the mouth of the river; and with him were associated in other enterprizes of a similar character a number of prominent citizens, among whom was our author. It does not appear that De Laet visited the country, although he evidently took a deep interest in its prosperity, as one of the *patroons* or founders of colonies, and a director in the West India Company. His daughter Johanna de Laet, the wife of Jeronimus Ebbingh, afterwards resided here; and

* By a singular coincidence, the journal of Juett was published by Purchase in his collection of voyages, at London, the same year (1625) that De Laet's work appeared at Leyden.

† *Kort Verhaal der Nederlantsche Geschiedenissen*, etc. door Hermanus Meijer, te Groningen, 1747.

we find the latter among the schepens or magistrates of New Amsterdam, as late as 1673.* In the tax list of the same year, Ebbingh's estate is one of the largest assessed.

Among the publications of De Laet was a history of the West India Company, which appeared from the press of the Elzevirs, in 1644. It is a folio volume, in the Dutch language, entitled a "History or yearly relation of the transactions of the chartered West India Company, from its beginning to the end of the year 1636, in thirteen books, ornamented with various copperplate engravings. By John de Laet, a director of the company. Leyden; by Bonaventuer and Abraham Elzevir. Anno 1644."† The affairs of the New Netherlands occupy, however, a comparatively small space in this work, since the operations of the Company in other quarters were of much greater magnitude and importance.

None of the writings of De Laet appear to have been translated into our language, although most of them were well known to English scholars through the medium of the Latin and the French, in which he seems to have composed with as much facility as in his vernacular tongue. A Latin edition of the New World was published in 1633, under the title of "*Novus Orbis, seu descriptionis Indiae Occidentalis, Autore Joanne de Laet Antuerpiensi,*" &c.; and another appeared in French, in the year 1640, both from the press of the Elzevirs at Leyden. These editions became extensively known, and gave the author at once a distinguished place among the *savans* of Europe.‡ The success of the work was complete; it furnished the best account of the New World that had yet appeared, containing, as Charlevoix justly remarks, the fruits of great research, not only in relation to the political establishments of the European powers in America, but also in respect to the natural history of the country, and the character and manners of the native races. He drew his materials, continues the same

* Moulton's New Orange, 13, note.

† Historie ofte Jaerlijck Verhael van de verrichtingen der geotroyeerde West Indische Compagnie, &c.

‡ The original edition in Dutch was so completely eclipsed by its successors, that its existence seems to have escaped the notice of those writers who have given a list of De Laet's publications. It is not mentioned by Charlevoix, Brunet, or Watt, nor by the author of the valuable article concerning him in the *Biographie Universelle*.

writer, from good sources, and used them with skill and discernment, except when he consulted only protestant authors, and permitted his judgment to be warped by religious prejudice.* A late English writer, after mentioning that De Laet was a great proficient in the languages, and composed or edited several works relating to geography and civil history, adds, "These works are still in considerable repute, as well on account of the historical and geographical information which they contain, as on account of the great beauty of the Elzevir types."†

In preparing the Latin edition of his "New World," De Laet instead of translating the Dutch text recomposed the work anew, condensing and altering many of the chapters, and interweaving the new materials collected in the interval of publication. The original work was divided into fifteen books, to which three were now added, besides many new chapters and additional maps. Among the latter was a map of "*Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium, et Virginia*," containing also "*Novæ Franciæ Pars*," on which the territory claimed by the Dutch is distinctly laid down. The French edition of 1640, is an exact counterpart to the Latin; containing the same number of books and chapters, and the same maps and other illustrations. The text is also the same, being for the most part a faithful translation of the Latin.

The following extracts comprise all that the original edition of De Laet contains on the subject of the New Netherlands; and for the purpose of enabling the reader, who may not have the means of referring to the work itself, now rarely to be met with, the chapters of the Latin edition, corresponding exactly to the French, are also added. It will be seen that the original edition enters much more fully into a description of the discoveries of the Dutch in this quarter than the others; while in the latter new matter is added relative to the productions of the country, and the character of the native inhabitants. The brief vocabulary of the language of the Sanhickans, a nation of the Delawares, who inhabited the west side of the Hudson from the Highlands to the sea, forms a valuable contribution to the materials for instituting a comparison of the different American dialects.

In making the translation, we have endeavoured to conform as

* *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, t. i. xlviii.

† Rees' Cyclop. Art. LAET.

strictly as possible to the literal sense of the original, the object being not so much to furnish an agreeable narrative, as to present in a plain English dress the few chapters devoted by the author to the discoveries of his countrymen upon our shores. At the period when the description was written, the first efforts were making to establish a colony within the bounds of our present populous and flourishing commonwealth; a company of merchants had already erected their trading houses upon the banks of the river, and under the charter of 1621,* preparations were in progress to colonize the country from the Connecticut to the Delaware. In 1624 a few families had probably come over, as we have already seen, but nothing had been done towards effecting a settlement worthy of commemoration by the pen of the historian. The plan, however, had been marked out; the name of NEW NETHERLANDS, appearing now for the first time, and the careful description by our author of the limits of the territory comprehended under that name, indicate with sufficient distinctness what was intended to be done. And had the government of the United Provinces, instead of leaving the gigantic undertaking to the unassisted enterprize of a few merchants, lent her aid and employed a portion of her undoubted resources in promoting its success, the result must have been far more satisfactory, and the colony of New Netherlands might have existed to the present day, a monument of the commercial prosperity and maritime vigour of the parent State.

EDITOR.

* See the charter of the West India Company in Hazard's *State Papers*.

DESCRIPTION, &c.

BOOK III. NEW-NETHERLANDS.

CHAPTER VII.

The first discovery and general description of that part of the country called by our countrymen New-NETHERLANDS.

IN the foregoing chapters we have spoken of that portion of the West Indies lying to the north, which the French, as related in the last book, some years since more fully discovered and explored, and to which the English at a later period had begun to give the name of New-England. We had thus reached in our description the promontory called by the English *Cape Cod*, and following the route of the French navigators, had arrived in our last book at Cape Malebarre and Port Fortuné*. The main land bends inwardly from this point, and forms, as it were, a large bay, that extends nearly east and west to a great river, from which the coast again stretches to the south-west, or nearly so, to the extremity of Florida. This part of the coast, situated as we have described, including numerous islands, and two large rivers, the most southerly in latitude 38° and fifty odd minutes, and the most northerly in latitude $40^{\circ} 30'$, which flows from the north, a great distance inland—this portion of the West Indies, I say, our countrymen call New-Netherlands, because it was first more fully discovered at the charge of Netherlanders, and some years after was visited by others of our people, and provided by them with a fort and habitations, under the authority and special grants of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces.

As to the first discovery, the Directors of the authorized East India Company, in the year 1609, despatched the yacht

* The French discoveries here referred to, were those of Champlain and others, in 1603-4, &c. when they ranged the coast from Nova Scotia to Cape Malebarre, the southern extremity of the peninsula of Cape Cod. *Port Fortuné* was a harbour at the same place, probably the same now called Chatham Harbour. Gosnold, an English navigator, had visited and named Cape Cod in 1602, as well as other parts of the coast of New England; hence De Laet does not claim for the French the merit of making original discoveries in that quarter. It will be perceived that he applies the term *West Indies* to the continent; in this he follows the Spanish writers, some of whom still adhere to that usage.

Half-Moon, under the command of Henry Hudson, captain and supercargo, to seek a passage to China by the north-east. But he changed his course and stood over towards New France, and having passed the banks of New Foundland in latitude $43^{\circ} 23'$, he made the land in latitude $44^{\circ} 15'$, with a west-north-west and north-west course, and went on shore at a place where there were many of the natives, with whom, as he understood, the French came every year to trade.* Sailing hence he bent his course to the south, until running south-south-west and south-west by south, he again made land in latitude $41^{\circ} 43'$, which he supposed to be an island, and gave it the name of NEW-HOLLAND, but afterwards discovered that it was Cape Cod, and that according to his observation, it lay two hundred and twenty-five miles to the west of its place on all the charts.† Pursuing his course to the south, he again saw land in latitude $37^{\circ} 15'$; the coast was low, running north and south, and opposite to it lay a bank or shoal within which there was a depth of eight, nine, ten, eleven, seven, and six and a half fathoms, with a sandy bottom. Hudson called this place *Dry Cape*.‡

Changing his course to the northward, he again discovered land in lat. $38^{\circ} 9'$, where there was a white sandy shore, and within appeared a thick grove of trees full of green foliage. The direction of the coast was north-north-east and south-south-west, for about twenty-four miles; then north and south for twenty-one miles, and afterwards south-east and north-west for fifteen miles. They continued to run along the coast to the north, until they reached a point from which the land stretches to the west and north-west, where several rivers discharge into an open bay. Land was seen to the east-north-east, which Hudson at first took to be an island, but it proved to be the main land, and the second point of the bay, in latitude $38^{\circ} 54'$.|| Standing in upon a course north-west by east, they soon found themselves embayed, and encountering many breakers, stood out again to the south-south-east. Hudson suspected that a large river discharged into the bay, from the strength of the current that set out and caused the accumulation of sands and shoals.

* Probably near the mouth of Penobscot, (called by the French *Pentagoet*,) river; there was a small French settlement at the same date, considerably farther to the eastward, named Port Royal, now Annapolis, Nova Scotia.

† In the translation we shall convert the Dutch miles into English; in the present instance *seventy-five* miles in the original become in English measure *two hundred and twenty-five*.

‡ Near the mouth of Chesapeake Bay; the description of the coast corresponds to the vicinity of Cape Charles.

|| This was without doubt Cape May, now laid down in latitude $35^{\circ} 57'$, varying only $3'$ from the observations of Hudson. The remainder of the description applies well enough to Delaware bay and river, now first discovered, as claimed by the Dutch.

Continuing their course along the shore to the north, they observed a white sandy beach and drowned land within, beyond which there appeared a grove of wood; the coast running north-east by east, and south-west by south. Afterwards the direction of the coast changed to north by east, and was higher land than they had yet seen. They at length reached a lofty promontory or head-land, behind which was situated a bay, which they entered and run up into a roadstead near a low sandy point, in lat. $40^{\circ} 18'$.^{*} There they were visited by two savages clothed in elk skins, who showed them every sign of friendship. On the land they found an abundance of blue plums, and magnificent oaks, of a height and thickness that one seldom beholds; together with poplars, linden trees, and various other kinds of wood useful in ship-building. Sailing hence in a northeasterly direction, they ascended a river to nearly 43° north latitude, where it became so narrow and of so little depth, that they found it necessary to return.[†]

From all that they could learn, there had never been any ships or Christians in that quarter before, and they were the first to discover the river and ascend it so far. Henry Hudson returned to Amsterdam with this report; and in the following year, 1610, some merchants again sent a ship thither, that is to say, to the second river discovered, which was called *Manhattes*, from the savage nation that dwelt at its mouth. And subsequently their High Mightinesses the States General granted to these merchants the exclusive privilege of navigating this river and trading there; whereupon, in the year 1615, a redoubt or fort was erected on the river, and occupied by a small garrison, of which we shall hereafter speak. Our countrymen have continued to make voyages thither from year to year for the purpose of trafficking with the natives, and on this account the country has very justly received the name of NEW-NETHERLANDS.

CHAPTER VIII.

Situation of the coast of New-Netherlands from Pye Bay to the Great River of the Mountains.

The better to understand the bearing of the coast and the extent of the country, we should begin somewhat farther to the

^{*} This is about the latitude of Sandy Hook. The highlands of New Jersey formed the lofty promontory referred to.

[†] The latitude of Albany is $42^{\circ} 39'$. It appears from Just's Journal of the voyage, that Hudson sent his small boat several miles farther up the river than his ship proceeded, and in this way he probably reached the latitude of Albany, described as nearly 43° .

north, namely at Pye Bay, as it is called by some of our navigators, in latitude $42^{\circ} 30'$, to which the limits of New-Netherlands extend. The distance from thence to the extreme point of the Lizard, according to the observations and reckoning of Captain Adrian Block, is two thousand and seventy miles, or thereabout. On the cape in this bay the ground is very sandy; a numerous people inhabit there, who are extremely well-looking, but timid and shy of Christians, so that it requires some address to approach them.* From this place to a point named by Captain Block *Cape Bevechier*, (from its great resemblance to Bevechier, the land being clammy, and not very elevated,) across Wick Bay, (another bay so called by our people, extending to the south-east,) the distance is thirty-six miles, and the course to the south-east by east and north-west by west. The coast trends from this cape, in the first place, north-west and south-east, for fifteen miles, and then north-east and south-west for eighteen miles, towards another sandy point. From the latter to Cape Malebarre, the distance is twenty-seven miles, and the direction of the coast north-east by north and south-west by south. This cape was also called by our countrymen *Flat Hook*; the surf breaks very much upon the point at its extremity, although there is three fathoms' water at low tide, in as much as the currents here meet, rendering the navigation dangerous to those who are not acquainted with the coast.†

Our Netherland ship-masters have not in a single instance had the misfortune to get stranded upon the shoals in this quarter, although according to some accounts there is a reef extending out to sea in a southerly direction for the distance of ninety miles. Not that it is very shallow for so great a distance, but only that the bottom can be reached with the lead; and there is the least depth of water twenty-four or twenty-seven miles off from the shore and out of sight of land. The soundings are very unequal, sometimes thirty fathoms, and then only seven or eight. But on the other hand it is said by some navigators, that no such reef lies so far to the south of

* The latitude of Pye Bay corresponds to that of Marblehead, a few miles north-east of Boston; from which to the Lizard, at the entrance of the English Channel, the distance is much greater than it was computed by the Dutch navigator. The name of *Pye Bay* was not adopted by the English after the settlement of the country.

† *Cape Bevechier* seems to have been on the western side of the peninsula of Cape Cod, but the land in all that region is the reverse of the character given it by the author; instead of being clammy, or adhesive, it is mostly composed of loose sand. There are banks of clay, however, on the east side, called Clay Pounds, but not far enough from Cape Malebarre to answer the description of *Cape Bevechier*. The second sandy point noticed, without being named, twenty-seven miles from Cape Malebarre, may have been Race Point on the extremity of Cape Cod, although the distance between them is somewhat greater.

Cape Malebarre, but only to the eastward of it; we shall leave this matter to be settled by the more complete discoveries of our skippers hereafter.*

Nine miles to the west of Cape Malebarre lies an island about six miles from the shore, and three miles in extent, or thereabout; but at a distance one might suppose that it was part of the main land; it was called by some, as I conjecture, *Petochnock*. In respect to the bearing of the coast in this quarter, I do not find it laid down on any charts of our countrymen that have come to my hands. But a number of islands lie off in that direction, as, for instance, one that was commonly called by our Dutch captains, *Texel*, and by others *Cape Ack*.† It is a large island, and appears white and clayey, according to the description of Capt. Cornelis Jacob May. About a mile and a half from the south-west extremity of this island, lies another small island, which was named by our countrymen *Henry Christian's Island*, and by others *Marten-vinger's Island*.‡ In this vicinity are likewise several small islands, called *Elizabeth's Islands*, which are upon the starboard side in coming from the river or bay of Nassau; and in order to run on the outside of *Henry Christian's Island*, it is necessary to steer a south-east course. Beyond these lies also an island to which our countrymen have given the name of *Block's Island*, from Captain Adrian Block. This island and the *Texel* above mentioned are situated east by north and west by south from one another, and the distance is such that you can see both from the quarter deck when you are half way between.

To the north of these islands and within the main land, is situated the river or bay of Nassau,|| which lies from the above named *Block's Island* north-east by east and south-west by west. This bay or river of Nassau is apparently very

* The most satisfactory account of these shoals, now known as *George's Bank*, is contained in the late editions of *Blunt's Coast Pilot*, from a survey made at the expense of the author of that work, in 1821. They are also laid down on a chart of the north-eastern coast by the same indefatigable hydrographer, with great minuteness and acknowledged accuracy. A new survey of them has been recently made (1837) by the direction of our government, under the superintendence of Lieut. Com. Charles Wilkes, U. S. N., from which it appears that the shoalest water found upon the bank was 2½ fathoms, or fifteen feet, and that the soundings varied suddenly, in frequent instances, from seven or eight to thirty fathoms, thus confirming the Dutch account of them. Their distance from land is also ascertained to be the same as stated by our author, namely, ninety miles. They are laid down on the Dutch maps under the name of the *Great Malebarre Reef*, (*'t Groot Riff van Malebarre*;) and by the English in early times, as the *Malabar Shoals*. It may be well to add, that none of our gazetteers or geographical publications contain a tolerable description of this remarkable feature upon our coast; the excellent nautical work already mentioned being the only authority relative to them of any value.

† *Martha's Vineyard*.

‡ Now called *No-man's-land*.

|| *Narraganset Bay*.

large and wide, and according to the description of Captain Block must be full nine miles in width; it has in the midst of it a number of islands, which one may pass on either side. It extends east-north-east about twenty-four miles, after which it is not more than two petard shots wide, and has generally seven, eight, nine, five, and four fathoms of water, except in a strait in the uppermost part of the bay, at a petard shot's distance from an island in that direction, where there is but nine feet water. Beyond this strait we have again three and a half fathoms of water; the land in this vicinity appears very fine, and the inhabitants seem strong of limb and of moderate size. They are somewhat shy, however, since they are not accustomed to trade with strangers, who would otherwise go there in quest of beaver and fox skins, &c., for which they resort to other places in that quarter.

From the westerly passage into this bay of Nassau to the most southerly entrance of Anchor bay, the distance is twenty-one miles, according to the statement of our skippers, and the course is south-east and north-west. Our countrymen have given two names to this bay, as it has an island in the centre and discharges into the sea by two mouths, the most easterly of which they call Anchor bay, and the most westerly Sloop bay.* The south-east shore of this bay runs north-east by north and north-north-east. In the lower part of the bay dwell the Wapenocks, a nation of savages like the rest. Capt. Adrian Block called the people who inhabit the west side of this bay *Nahicans*, and their sagamore *Nathattow*; another chief was named Cachaquant. Towards the north-west side there is a sandy point with a small island, bearing east and west, and bending so as to form a handsome bay with a sandy bottom. On the right of the sandy point there is more than two fathoms water, and farther on three and three and a half fathoms, with a sharp bottom, where lies an island of a reddish appearance. From Sloop bay, or the most westerly passage, it is twenty-four miles to the Great Bay, [Long Island Sound,] which is situated between the main land and several islands,† that extend to the mouth of the Great River [Hudson]. In this great bay are many islands both large and small, that have no particular names, so far as is known to us, except that on a chart of this quarter made some years since, several small islands are laid down at the entrance to this great bay, near what we should

* These names appear to have been given to the different entrances into Narraganset Bay.

† On the early Dutch maps, Long Island is laid down as a group of islands, into which it was supposed to be divided by the various inlets. The imperfect map accompanying the Latin edition of this work, (1633,) has this error among others.

call Fisher's Hook [Montauk Point,] to which the name of *Gesellen* (the Companions,) is applied. And another, called Long Island, lies over across the bay, to avoid which, when approaching Fisher's Hook and running for Fresh river, one must steer to the north-west.

Towards the main land within the bay lies a crooked point, behind which there is a small stream or inlet, which was called by our people East river, since it extends towards the east. There is another small river towards the west where the coast bends, which our countrymen called the river of Siccaneimos after the name of the Sagimos or Sacmos; here is a good harbour or roadstead behind a sand-point about half a mile from the western shore in two and a half fathoms water. The river comes for the most part from the north-east, and is in some places very shallow, having but nine feet of water at the confluence of a small stream, and in others places only six feet. Then there are kills or creeks with full five fathoms water, but navigation for ships extends only fifteen or eighteen miles. Salmon are found there. The people who dwell on this river, according to the statements of our people, are called Pequatoos, (Pequods) and are the enemies of the Wapanoos.*

A small island lies to the south-west by south from this river, as the coast runs; near the west end of it a north-west by west moon causes low water. We next find on the main a small stream to which our people gave the name of the *Little fresh river*, where some trade is carried on with the natives, who are called Morhicans.

Next, in the south-west, succeeds a river named by our countrymen Fresh river, (the Connecticut,) which is shallow at its mouth, and lies between two courses, north by east and west by north; but according to conjecture, allowing for both, its general direction is from the north-north-west. In some places it is very shallow, so that at about forty-five miles up the river there is not much more than five feet of water. There are few inhabitants near the mouth of the river, but at the distance of forty-five miles above they become numerous; their nation is called Sequins.† From this place the river stretches thirty miles, mostly in a northerly direction, but is very crooked; the *racks* or reaches extend from north-east to south-west, and it is impossible to sail through them with a head wind. The depth of water varies from ten to twelve feet, which is the

* The river here described is the *Thames*, navigable fourteen miles to Norwich, in Connecticut.

† Trumbull, *History of Connecticut*, mentions a Pyquaug sagamore called *Sequin*, who was living when the English commenced their settlements on Connecticut river. Pyquaug, afterwards Weathersfield, was just forty-five miles from the mouth of the river.

greatest, to eight or nine, and sometimes to four and five, and then to eight and nine again. The natives plant maize, or Indian corn, and in the year 1614, they had a village resembling a fort for protection against the attacks of their enemies. They are called Nawaas, and the sagamore was named Morahieck. They term the bread made of maize in their language, *leganick*. This place is situated in latitude $41^{\circ} 48'$. The river is not navigable with yachts for more than six miles farther, as it is very shallow and has a rocky bottom. Within the land dwells another nation of savages, who are called Horikans; they ascend the river in canoes made of bark. This river has always a downward current, so that no assistance is derived from it in going up, but a favourable wind is necessary.*

From Fresh river to another called the river of Roodeberg, it is twenty-four miles, west by north and east by south; this stream stretches east-north-east, and is about a bow-shot wide, being a depth of three and a half fathoms at high water. It rises and falls about six feet; a south-east by south moon causes high water at its mouth. The natives who dwell here are called Quiripeys.† They take many beavers, but it is necessary for them to get into the habit of trade, otherwise they are too indolent to hunt the beaver.

Twelve miles further to the east there lies a small island, where good water is to be found; and twelve miles beyond there are a number of islands, so that Captain Block gave the name of Archipelagos to the group. The great bay is there about twelve miles wide. There is a small stream on the main that does not extend more than a mile and a half from the shore, when it becomes perfectly dry. The natives are here called Siwanoos, and dwell along the coast for twenty-four miles to the neighbourhood of Hellegat. At the entrance of this bay, as we have already mentioned, are situated several islands, or broken land, on which a nation of savages have their abode, who are called Matouwacks; they obtain a livelihood by fishing within the bay; whence the most easterly point of the land received the name of Fisher's Hook, and also Cape de Baye (now Montauk Point). This cape and Block Island are situated about twelve miles apart, in a course east by north and west by south.

* This description of the Connecticut was probably derived from the Journal of Captain Adrian Block, and is the earliest account of the river extant. Block was unquestionably the first European who explored it. TRUMBULL, *History of Connecticut*, says, "None of the ancient adventurers, who discovered the continent of North America, in New-England, made any discovery of this river. It does not appear that it was known to any civilized nation until some years after the settlement of the English and Dutch at Plymouth and New Netherlands." Block's discovery was, it would seem, before both, viz. A. D. 1614.

† *Quinnepiack* was the Indian name of New-Haven; *Roodeberg*, or Red hill, the Dutch name.

Hellegat, as named by our people, is another river, according to the description of Captain Adrian Block, that flows from the great bay into the great river; and the current according to his statement, comes a distance of about one hundred and eleven miles east of the great river. The two currents of the great river and the Hellegat, meet one another near Nutten Island (now Governor's Island).^{*} In coming from the great river to the bay, the reaches extend east by north, and east-north-east and east-south-east, formed almost entirely by islands. The natives here bring on board the ships oysters, squirrels, and wild ducks. We have now come to the great river, of which we shall next speak.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the great North river of the New-Netherlands, and its situation.

The great north river of the New-Netherlands was called by some the Manhattes river, from the people who dwell near its mouth; by others, also, Rio de Montaigne, or River of the Mountain; but by our countrymen it was generally called the GREAT RIVER. There is a large bay at its entrance, which is now named by our captains Port May, barred at its mouth by a sandy point; and off the eastern hook of the river extends a reef, that must be very bold, since while we have twelve fathoms water on one part of it, there are only five or six on another, and again but one and a half, with a firm bottom. About five miles within the hook of the river, near the eastern shore, lies an island not more than a mile and a half in extent, to which our people gave the name of Nutten Island, because excellent nut trees grow there. On the east side, upon the main land, dwell the Manatthans, a bad race of savages, who have always been very obstinate and unfriendly towards our countrymen. On the west side are the Sanhickans, who are the deadly enemies of the Manatthans, and a much better people; they dwell within the sandy hook, and along the bay, as well as in the interior of the country.

The entrance to this river lies in latitude $40^{\circ} 28'$ or $30'$. Over against Nutten Island, or the western side of it, there are four other small islands.[†] The river is fourteen or fifteen fath-

^{*} What is now called East river is here described as Hellegat river, and its current is reckoned from the eastern entrance of Long Island Sound. The word *gat* has the sense of *gut* when used nautically, as the *Gut of Canso*, &c.

[†] Only two of these islands are now remaining, but it is said that the rocks where the others once lay, are to be seen at low water.

oms deep at its mouth, and continues of that depth in a straight channel ; it is for the most part a musket shot wide, but varies somewhat in its width. Its course is between north-east and north-north-west, according as the reaches extend. Within the first reach, on the western bank of the river, where the land is low, there dwells a nation of savages, named Tappaans. The river here is quite shallow in the middle, but deep on both sides. The stream is greatest and flows north and south out of the northern entrance, and a south-east and north-west moon causes the highest tides. About three miles inland there is a bay sheltered from all winds, nearly twenty miles in circuit ; there flows here a strong flood and ebb, but the ebb is not more than four feet, on account of the great quantity of water that comes from above, overflowing the low lands in the spring.

The second reach of the river extends upward to a narrow part, named by our people Haverstroo ; then comes the Seyl-maker's reach, as they call it ; and next a crooked reach, in the form of a crescent, called Kock's reach. Next is Hogerack, and then follows Vossen reach, which extends to Klinckersbergh ; this is succeeded by Fisher's reach, where, on the east bank of the river, dwells a nation of savages called Pachami. This reach extends to another narrow pass, where, on the west side of the river, there is a point of land that juts out covered with sand, opposite a bend in the river, on which another nation of savages, the Waoranecks, have their abode, at a place called Esopus. A little beyond on the west side, where there is a creek, and the river becomes more shallow, the Warana-wankongs reside ; here are several small islands. Next comes another reach called Klaverack, where the water is deeper on the west side, while the eastern side is sandy. Then follow Backerrack, John Playsier's rack, and Vasterack, as far as Hinnenhoek. All these reaches are dotted with sand and shallow, both on the east side, and in the middle of the river.

Finally, the Hertenrack succeeds as far as Kinderhoek ; at this place and beyond, the river at its greatest depth has but five fathoms of water, and generally only two or three. Beyond Kinderhoek there are several small islands in the river, one of which was called Beeren Island (*Bears' Island*). After this we come to a sheltered retreat named Ouwee Ree, and farther on are Surgeon's Hook and Fisher's Hook, over against which, on the east side of the river, dwell the Mohicans. On the east lies a long broken island, through which several creeks find a passage, forming several islands ; on which a fort was erected, in latitude 43 . The tide flows to this place, and the river is navigable for ships. Higher up it becomes so shallow that small skiffs can with difficulty sail there ; and one sees in the distance several lofty hills, from which most of the water in the

river flows. Judging from appearances, this river extends to the great river St. Lawrence, or Canada, since our people assure us that the natives come to the fort from that river, and from Quebec and Tadoussac.

A fort was built here in the year 1614, upon an island on the west side of the river, where dwell the Mackwaes, the enemies of the Mohicans. Almost all those who live on the west side, are enemies of those on the east, and cultivate more intercourse and friendship with our countrymen than the latter. The fort was built in the form of a redoubt, surrounded by a moat eighteen feet wide; it was mounted with two pieces of cannon and eleven swivels, and the garrison consisted of ten or twelve men. Henry Christians first commanded here, and in his absence James Elkens, on behalf of the Company, who, in 1614, received authority from their High Mightinesses, the States General. This Fort was constantly occupied for three years, after which it was suffered to go to decay. On this river there is a great traffick in the skins of beavers, otters, foxes, bears, minks, *catelossen*, and the like. The land is excellent and agreeable to the eye, full of noble forest trees and grape vines, and nothing is wanting but the labour and industry of man to render it one of the finest and most fruitful lands in that part of the world; for the Indians who inhabit there are indolent, and some of them a crafty and wicked people.

CHAPTER X.

Of the appearance of the land, and the manners of the people on the great river of the Mountains.

HENRY HUDSON who first discovered this river, and all that have since visited it, express their admiration of the noble trees growing upon its banks; and Hudson has himself described the manners and appearance of the people that he found dwelling within the bay, in the following terms:—

“When I came on shore, the swarthy natives all stood around, and sung in their fashion; their clothing consisted of the skins of foxes and other animals, which they dress and make the skins into garments of various sorts. Their food is Turkish wheat, (maize or Indian corn,) which they cook by baking, and it is excellent eating. They all came on board one after another in their canoes, which are made of a single hollowed tree; their weapons are bows and arrows, pointed with sharp stones, which they fasten with hard resin. They had no houses, but slept under the blue heavens, sometimes on mats of bulrushes interwoven, and sometimes on the leaves of

trees. They always carry with them all their goods, such as their food and green tobacco, which is strong and good for use. They appear to be a friendly people, but have a great propensity to steal, and are exceedingly adroit in carrying away whatever they take a fancy to."

In latitude 40° 48', where the savages brought very fine oysters to the ship, Hudson describes the country in the following manner:—"It is as pleasant a land as one need tread upon; very abundant in all kinds of timber suitable for ship-building, and for making large casks or vats. The people had copper tobacco pipes, from which I inferred that copper might naturally exist there; and iron likewise according to the testimony of the natives, who, however, do not understand preparing it for use."

Hudson also states that they caught in the river all kinds of fresh-water fish with seines, and young salmon and sturgeon. In latitude 42° 18', he landed:—"I sailed to the shore," he says, "in one of their canoes with an old man, who was the chief of a tribe consisting of forty men and seventeen women; these I saw there in a house well constructed of oak-bark, and circular in shape, so that it had the appearance of being built with an arched roof. It contained a great quantity of maize or Indian corn and beans of the last year's growth, and there lay near the house for the purpose of drying enough to load three ships, besides what was growing in the fields. On our coming into the house, two mats were spread out to sit upon, and immediately some food was served in well made red wooden bowls; two men were also despatched at once with bows and arrows in quest of game, who soon after brought in a pair of pigeons which they had shot. They likewise killed a fat dog, and skinned it in great haste with shells which they had got out of the water. They supposed that I would remain with them for the night, but I returned after a short time on board the ship. The land is the finest for cultivation that I ever in my life set foot upon, (*Is het schoonste landt om te bouwen als ick oyt myn leven met voeten betrat,*) and it also abounds in trees of every description. The natives are a very good people, for when they saw that I would not remain, they supposed that I was afraid of their bows, and taking the arrows, they broke them in pieces and threw them into the fire. &c."

He found there also vines and grapes, pumpkins and other fruits; from all of which there is sufficient reason to conclude, that it is a pleasant and fruitful country, and that the natives

* The present city of Hudson is in lat. 42° 14', near where the adventurous navigator went on shore. The time occupied by him in exploring the river was from Sept. 13th to Oct. 3d, as appears from the Journal of his mate, Robert Juet.

are well disposed, if they are only well treated ; although they are very changeable, and of the same general character as all the savages in the north. They have no religion whatever, nor any divine worship, much less any political government, except that they have their chiefs whom they call Sackmos, or Sagimmos. On different occasions some of our people have been encountered by them and slain ; for they are revengeful and very suspicious, and on this account often engaged in wars among themselves, although remarkably timid and deficient in courage. But with mild and proper treatment, and especially by intercourse with Christians, this people might be civilized and brought under better regulation ; particularly if they were placed in contact with a sober and discreet population that cultivated good order. They are, besides, very servicable, and allow themselves to be employed in many things for quite a small compensation ; even to performing a long day's journey, in which they discover greater fidelity than could be expected of such a people.

As to the climate and seasons of the year, they do not ill agree with our countrymen, although it is somewhat colder there than is pleasant ; it freezes and snows excessively in winter, so that the river often becomes a solid mass of ice. But this occurs some years more than others, as with us. There is also a great variety of winds in that country, and in summer much thunder and lightning with violent gusts. In short, it is a country well adapted for our people to inhabit, on account of the similarity of the climate and the weather to our own ; especially since it wants nothing that is needful for the subsistence of man, except domestic cattle, which it would be easy to carry there ; and besides producing many things of which our own country is destitute. Wine can be made there with industry, since vines are already found that require nothing but cultivation. We have before stated how much the country abounds in timber suitable for ship-building ; it is sought by our people for that purpose, who have built there several sloops and tolerable yachts. And particularly Capt. Adrian Block, when his ship was accidentally burnt in the year 1614, constructed there a yacht with a keel thirty-eight feet long, forty-four and a half feet from stem to stern, and eleven and a half feet wide. In this vessel he sailed through Hellegat into the great bay, and explored all the places thereabout ; continuing his course as far as Cape Cod, where he fell in with the ship of Henry Christian. He afterwards returned home, and left the yacht on that coast for further use.

CHAPTER XI.

Further description of the coast to the second great river, (the Delaware,) and from thence to latitude 38° north.

In coming out of the bay that lies at the mouth of the great river of the mountains, we have a tolerably deep channel by keeping the river or its mouth to the north-east, and the outer cape of the high land of the bay to the south-east. From the sandy hook of the bay or Port May to Fishers' Hook (*Montauk Point*), or the eastern extremity of the broken land where the Matouwacks dwell, the land stretches to the east and north-east and the distance is about eighty-one or eighty-four miles, according to the report of some navigators, but according to Cornelius Jacob May only seventy-five miles. When one is outside of the above mentioned hook of Port May, and bound to the south, the coast tends to the south-south-west and north-north-east, and land is visible on both sides. Beyond, the coast runs south-west by south, and north-east by north, and presents a fine, bold shore, with tolerably high sand hills, extending to a lofty foreland within the land. But farther south the coast is somewhat lower, with but one foot of water along the shore, beyond which water is visible within, and here and there a low sandhill. Continuing our course we meet with a gut or inlet, and farther on another gut, in about latitude 39° 50', which is called by our people Eyer haven, (*Egg-harbour*,) and also Bay haven. This is a small river or kill, within which all is broken land, and in the bay are several inconsiderable islands. A little beyond, in the same direction, a tolerably high forest is seen upon a low promontory, and then succeeds a flat sandy shore with very small sand hills or downs; towards the south lofty woods are again visible, with here and there slight elevations.*

From thence to Cape May the coast trends mostly to the east north-east and west south-west, and the guts or inlets are so numerous that there appears to be one for every short mile. But one should be cautious not to approach too near the coast, since there are *polders* or low places enclosed with banks, on which the sea breaks with great violence; and the water constantly grows more shallow, so that at one cast of the lead there may be seven fathoms, at another but five, and a third only three or less. As we approach Cape May, the coast runs west south-west and east-north-east, and twelve or sixteen miles out to sea lies a bank or shelf of sand, where there is but four and

* *Drommeltien*—an obscure and obsolete expression; the meaning as given above is somewhat conjectural. *Drommel van huizen* means the raising of a house, &c.

a half fathoms water, while nearer to the land we have seven fathoms or more.

The second river lies also within a great bay, called by our people New Port May : it has two capes or headlands, of which the northern is named Cape May, and the southern Cape Cornelius, and these two capes lie east-north-east, well to the north, and west south-west, well to the south, of one another, so far distant that one is scarcely able to see across with the eye. To the south-west of Cape May, and full half-way over towards Cape Cornelius to the south-south-east, there are sandbanks ; the bay also within is full of sand bars and shoals, so that numerous channels are formed, rendering the bay highly dangerous to those unacquainted with it. Within this bay is another large river, called the South river, of which we have spoken in the seventh chapter ; and several smaller streams, which I shall describe hereafter, as the true bearing and further situation of the coast, as observed by our navigators, have not reached me, although some of them are well acquainted with these rivers, which they discovered and have visited for several years. Several nations of savages inhabit the banks of these rivers, namely, the Sawanoos, Sanhickans, Minquaas, Capitannesses, Gacheos, Sennekaas, Canomakers, Naratekons, Konkotays, Matanakouses, Armeomeks, &c. nearly all of whom are of the same character and condition as those we have already described. They plant and raise maize, beans, and whatever else other natives possess.

The most southerly cape, called by us Cape Cornelius, has a white shining appearance, and a reef runs off from it to the south-south-east, to the sea ; it is situated in latitude $38^{\circ} 54'$. Twelve miles from this cape lies another, which our countrymen call Cape Hinlopen, and the course is north-east by east and south-west by south. From here the coast stretches first mostly north and south, and then south-west and north-north-east, and also south-west and north-east. Along the shore there is six and seven fathoms water, and the bottom is excellent ; then again in two or three tacks we have only three fathoms. From hence to latitude $38^{\circ} 18'$ the land trends to the south-west, well to the south, and north-east, well to the north, with a very small foreland, and within there is a spacious body of water together with low broken land ; this continues for about twenty-four miles. To the south the land runs mostly north-east by east and south-west by west, and is a very uneven bottom, varying from six to seven and five fathoms water.

TRANSLATIONS
FROM
THE LATIN AND FRENCH EDITIONS
OF
DE LAET'S NEW WORLD ;
1633—1640.

BY THE EDITOR.

NOVUM BELGIUM, OR NEW NETHERLANDS.*

BOOK III.—CHAPTER. VII.

Description of that part of the continent of North America which was first more fully explored and settled by our countrymen.

Thus far we have treated of that part of North America which the French first explored, and having planted colonies therein, had for some time occupied ; but which the English have of late endeavoured to reduce into possession, setting up a claim thereto, and distinguishing it by the names of New England and New Scotland. In our preceding book, we took a survey of this coast as far as the promontory called by the French Cape Malebarre, but in the former chapters of the present book, following the more recent explorations of the English, we reached Cape Cod. From Cape Malebarre, (taking our departure from that point,) the coast makes a great bend to the west, and forms as it were a bay, into whose bosom a large river discharges itself, and finally into the sea ; and from the mouth of which the coast again bends to the south. This territory including a number of islands, extending from lat. $38^{\circ} 30'$, (where another large river discharges,) to lat. 44° , and beyond within the land, we now denominate NEW NETHERLANDS, because this part of the country was first more fully explored under the auspices and at the expense of our people, and afterwards, having been constantly visited and finally colonized under the authority of

the most illustrious States General, first received the arts of civilization from the Netherlanders, who erected a fortification on its soil with the consent of the native inhabitants.

The bend in the coast had, indeed, been observed by others, and the shores even seen and approached in the neighbourhood of Cape Malebarre, but none had noticed, so far as appears, that a noble river, covered with boats and inhabited by numerous and varied tribes of people, flowed into the farther part of the bay thus formed, until the discovery was made by our people in the year 1609. The East India Company had despatched Henry Hudson, an Englishman, in a small bark, towards the northern coast of America, for the purpose of discovering a passage to Tartary and China; in which proving unsuccessful, he changed his course, and approached New France in lat $44^{\circ} 15'$. Afterwards running to the south, he saw land in lat. $41^{\circ} 43'$, and supposing it to be an island he named it New Holland; but it soon after appeared that it was a part of the main land, and the promontory of Cape Blanc or Cod, which, judging from his reckoning and observations, was seventy-five miles further to the west than it was laid down on the charts. When they had examined the coast in various places, and had gone as far south as lat. 37° , (either from necessity or otherwise,) they returned along the coast as far as lat. 40° , where they entered a spacious bay, and cast anchor behind a low and sandy cape. Here they were visited by two savages clothed in elk skins, and hospitably received; and on the shore they gathered blue plums that were ripe, and saw around them noble oaks, poplars, and other trees. Afterwards weighing anchor they entered the river itself, and ascended to lat. 43° , where the channel became narrower, and too shallow for large vessels, and it appeared from indubitable signs, that no Europeans had before visited the river.

When, therefore, Hudson had returned towards the end of autumn to Amsterdam in his bark, and made known what he had discovered respecting this river, (which he called Manhattes, from the name of the people who dwelt at its mouth,) immediately, in 1610, some Amsterdam merchants sent thither a vessel loaded with a variety of goods, and having obtained from the States General exclusive authority to visit the river and neighbouring regions for purposes of trade, they carried on a commerce with the natives for several succeeding years; for which purpose our people remained there during winter, and finally, in 1615, built a fort under the auspices of the States General, and garrisoned it with soldiers, as we shall relate hereafter. Such was the commencement of what resulted in the application of the name New Netherlands to that part of the northern continent, which continues to this day.

CHAPTER VIII.

A particular description of New-Netherlands in respect to the situation of the Coast.

The main land, as we have already stated, changes its direction from Cape Malebarre to the west, being studded with many islands, and the coast itself being so much intersected by bays and inlets that it is doubtful whether it deserves most the name of continent or island, about which authors differ. Having passed the Cape, a small island presents itself at the bend of the shore, six miles from the main land, and not more than three miles in extent, which is called Petockenock. Near this, to the west, is an oblong and spacious island, which our people, on account of its resemblance to Texel call by the same name. Next on the south, at the distance of three or four miles, lies another, which they call from its discoverer Henry Christian's Island, but the English apparently *Martha's Vineyard*, in lat. $41^{\circ} 15'$. It is said to be fifteen miles in circumference, and abounds in trees and birds, with every convenience for fishing. A small island succeeds near the main land, which they call from its appearance Dover cliff; and two miles beyond is Elizabeth's island, in lat. $41^{\circ} 10'$, in the middle of which is a pool of pure water, and a rocky elevation that the English undertook to fortify, but abandoned it. The last of these islands is the one which Capt. Adrian Block called after his own name.

But let us return to the continent. Here first a bay discloses itself, (which some consider a river,) called Nassau, six miles wide at its entrance, which is obstructed by islands, and about eight fathoms deep; afterwards it becomes narrower, terminating as it were in a point, with a depth of four, five, and sometimes nine fathoms, except in the extreme recess where it is more shallow. It is surrounded by a pleasant and fertile country, inhabited by sturdy barbarians, who are difficult of access, not being accustomed yet to intercourse with strangers. At the distance of twenty-one miles west of this bay, there is another, divided by an island at its entrance, so that it has two names; for the part on the east is called Anchor, and that on the west Boat bay. The savages who dwell around this bay are called Wapenokes, though it is said by others that the western side is inhabited by the Nalucans. Twenty-four miles or thereabout beyond, we enter a very large bay, enclosed by the land for a long distance, or rather by islands intersected by channels, of which there is a great number, until we reach the mouth of the

great river. There are also numerous small islands, to which no particular names have been given, navigators taking the liberty of changing them arbitrarily. Near the entrance of this bay the main land forms a crooked prominence in the shape of a sickle, behind which an inlet receives a small stream, that flows from the east and has received its name from our people.

Another little river discharges on the same part of the coast, which derives its name from a chief of the natives, called Siccanamos; here is a very convenient roadstead. Behind a small promontory there is another stream that is navigable for fifteen or eighteen miles; here salmon are taken. The native inhabitants are called Pequotoes, who are the enemies of the Wapanokes. From thence the coast turns a little to the south, and a small river is seen which our people named Frisius, where a trade is carried on with the Morhicans. Next comes a river called by our countrymen De Versche Riviere, or Fresh river, which is shallow and shoaly at its mouth, so that it is difficult for small vessels to ascend it; near the sea there are but few inhabitants, but within the interior of the country dwell the Sequins, at the distance of forty-five miles; the Nawes are the next above, who cultivate the land and plant maize, from which they bake cakes, called by them *leganick*. In the year 1614, they were defended by a kind of palisade in the form of a camp against their enemies, in lat. $41^{\circ} 48'$, as I find it was observed by our people. Beyond live the Horikans, who are accustomed to descend this river in boats made of the bark of trees sewed together.

Another river meets us twenty-four miles west of this, to which the name of red hills has been given; the Querepees inhabit its banks; many beaver are taken here, since a demand for our goods has stimulated the naturally slothful savages. Twelve miles west an island presents itself, and soon after many more are seen, whence our people called this place Archipelago. The bay is here twelve miles wide; on the main reside the Suwanoes, similar in dress and manners to the other savages.

I have remarked that the large bay was enclosed by several islands, separated from one another only by small channels. These are inhabited by a race of savages who are devoted to fishing, and thus obtain their subsistence; they are called Matouwacks. The name of Fisher's Hook has thus been given to the eastern cape of these islands, which some consider the head of the bay. In the interior of this bay a branch of the great river, or another river as others consider it, discharges, which our people call *Helle-gat*, or the entrance to the infernal regions (*inferni os*). The current of the sea setting from the east to the west, meets another current of the great river near

an island, which our countrymen called Nutten Island, from the great abundance of nuts which it produces.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Great or North River of the New-Netherlands, and the different people who dwell near it.

The great river of New-Netherlands is called by some *Manhattes*, doubtless from the people who reside near its mouth; by others the river of the mountain; by some also *Nassau*, but more frequently by our countrymen the Great North river, to distinguish it from another which flows into the same ocean more towards the south. Near the mouth of this river there is a bay of moderate extent which our people commonly call *Port May*, from the name of Capt. Cornelius May; it is shut in from the ocean by several islands and a sandy point extending towards the east, and on account of rocks and shoals is dangerous to navigators, although behind the point there is a convenient anchorage for ships. The people who dwell about this bay are called *Aquamachuques*. In entering the river from the sandy point, at the distance of three miles or more within the entrance, there is an island which derives its name from the nut trees that grow on it, as we have already stated; opposite to which on the left or western side of the river lie three or four islands near shore. The mouth of this river is in $40^{\circ} 28'$ or $30'$ north latitude. The channel at its mouth is fourteen or fifteen fathoms deep, and preserves nearly the same depth in its course, sometimes wider and sometimes narrower; and with various windings it ascends towards the north and north-west.

On the right or eastern bank of the river from its mouth dwell the *Manhattæ* or *Manatthanes*, a fierce nation and hostile to our people, from whom nevertheless they purchased the island or point of land which is separated from the main by *Helle gat*, (*le trou d'enfer*, of which we have already spoken,) and where they laid the foundations of a city, called New Amsterdam. On the left or western side of the river dwell the *Sanhikans*, the deadly enemies of the former nation, and a better and more decent people; they live along the shores of the bay and within the land. Opposite to the *Manhattans* dwell the *Machkentivomi*, and within the first bend of the river on the same side the *Tuppaanes*. The river is here shallow in the middle, but along its banks on each side it preserves its depth, and forms a bay which is about eighteen miles in circuit, and protects ships against the uncertainty of the winds, when necessary. The

flowing and ebbing of the sea are here sufficiently strong, but on account of the immense quantity of water which comes from above, the river falls not more than four feet, and very often in the spring overflows its banks where they are low. The second bend of the river is toward the north-west extending to a narrow part which our people call *Haverstroo*, and thus with various windings it reaches a place which our countrymen call Vischer's Rack, that is, the fisherman's bend. And here the eastern bank is inhabited by the *Pachami*; a little beyond where projects a sandy point, and the river becomes narrower, there is a place called *Esopus*, where the *Waarankys*, another barbarous nation have their abode. To these succeed after a short interval the *Waranawancougys*, on the opposite side of the river; from hence ascending by various windings of the shore which our people distinguish by particular names, we reach another small point where the channel diminishes in depth and has not more than three or four fathoms, being interrupted by frequent shallows and sand bars, occasioning greater delay than danger; then comes Bears' island, (*Ursorum insula*, or *Beeren eylandt*), and behind it a small bay which they call Old Harbor.

On the right bank of the river opposite this island dwell the *Manhicans*, and along the shore extends an oblong island intersected by various channels, so that it seems to be several islands; then we reach another island where our countrymen formerly had a small fort. The tide flows as far as this place and the river is covered with large vessels; but above the river diminishes rapidly in depth and is scarcely sufficient for small boats. Lofty mountains are seen in the distance; from them the greatest part of the water with which this river is filled, descends; but its sources are supposed not to be very far distant from the great river of Canada, since not unfrequently the Indians come to our fort from Quebec and Tadousac. This fort which we call Orange, is situated on an island adjacent to the left bank of the river, which a nation of barbarians inhabit whom they call *Mackwas*, the enemies of the *Manhicans* who occupy the right bank of the river. Nearly all the savages on the western side are hostile to those on the eastern side of the river. In this fort were formerly placed several pieces of cannon and a small garrison of soldiers under the auspices of the illustrious States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, which Henry Christian and afterwards Jacob Elkens commanded; and thus our people from the year 1614, for several successive years, occupied it, until the West India Company having received a new and most ample charter from the same powerful Lords, began soon to send their ships to this river, and the colonization of the country was more fully undertaken.

CHAPTER X.

The nature of the climate and soil, the fruits, plants, &c. of the New Netherlands.

Our countrymen who first explored this river, and those who subsequently made frequent voyages thither, describe the wonderful size of the trees, (a good proof of the luxuriance of the soil,) suitable for edifices and vessels of the largest class. Wild grape vines are abundant, and walnut trees, the fruit of which differs from ours, being smaller and the shell harder and smoother. This is also the case with other trees, shrubs, and plants that grow spontaneously; but when cultivated with the labour and industry of man, maize or Indian corn, for example, yields a prolific return. So with various kinds of pulse, especially beans, which have an admirable variety of colours; pumpkins of the finest species, melons, and similar fruits of a useful character; so that nothing is wanting but human industry. Our people have begun in different places to sow wheat and several other kinds of grain, and also flax, hemp, and other European seeds, to which the soil is extremely well adapted. There is a great variety of herbaceous plants, some of which bear splendid flowers, and others are considered valuable for their medicinal properties. I cannot avoid describing here two of this class, although it is not known whether they possess any useful qualities.

Two plants were sent to me from New Netherlands that grew finely last year in a medical garden of this city, one of which I have caused to be figured below, but the other was destroyed by the inclemency of the winter before it could be drawn. They were congeners, though differing somewhat in shape and the structure of the leaves and stalks. They agreed in having their leaves of the form of the iron head, with which the East Indians and Africans point their darts; both likewise had tender and very flexible stalks, either four or five angled, rough with small prickles, (*exiguus sentibus asperi*), and node or jointed; the leaves growing from the joints, and other footstalks springing from the axils of the leaves. They differed in these respects;—the leaves of the one that perished, were broader and smooth on both sides; of the other, beside being narrower, the under side was rough and of a less deeper green; in the second place, the leaves of the former were supported by long petioles, while those of the latter had very short ones; thirdly, the stems of the former were of a greenish red colour, of the latter wholly green; and finally, while the first seemed

to bear no flowers, on the latter, both from the joints and the summit of the principal stalk sprang minute flowers of a reddish white colour, resembling in form and general appearance the flowers of the water pepper, except that those of the American plant are somewhat handsomer, and grow in clusters of a more globular form. Some one has remarked that one of these plants might be the male and the other the female, perhaps not without good reason. Both perished last winter, on which account I was unable to make farther observations. I here add a figure of the flowering plant.*

The forests every where contain a great variety of wild animals, especially of the deer kind, and other quadrupeds that are indigenous to this part of North America. Innumerable birds are also found here, both large and small, those that frequent the rivers and lakes, as well as the forests, possessing a plumage of great elegance and variety of colours. In winter superior turkey cocks are taken; they are very fat, and their flesh is of the best quality. The rivers produce excellent fish, such as the salmon, sturgeon, and many others.

The temperature of the climate differs little from our own; for although the country is many degrees nearer to the equator than the Netherlands, yet it is not less cold in winter; the frost is very intense; deep and frequent snows fall and cover the ground for a long time, with the same variety of seasons as with us. The winds are equally changeable; and in summer there is much thunder and lightning with violent showers. I am therefore of the opinion that scarcely any part of America is better adapted for the settlement of colonies from this quarter, especially since nothing is wanting that is necessary to sustain life, and the soil can be rendered still more productive by labour and industry; cattle only are wanted, which can be easily transported there and kept with the utmost convenience on account of the abundance of fodder found almost every where. The grape vines also, if properly attended to, seem to promise a rich supply of wine.†

* A drawing of the plant appears in both the Latin and French editions of the work, from which, in connexion with the imperfect description in the text, it appears to have been a species of *Polygonum*, probably from the shape of its leaves, *P. sagittatum*, or scratch grass, a common weed.

† The author's interest in the country as a patroon and a director of the West India Company, leads him to speak favorably of it, but without exaggeration. It will be noticed that but a small portion of these chapters is contained in the original Dutch edition.

CHAPTER XI.

The Manners and Customs of the Natives of New-Netherlands, and the language of the Sankikans.

The barbarians being divided into many nations and people, differ much from one another in language though very little in manners ; they possess the same constitution of body as those that inhabit a great part of New France. Their clothing is composed of the skins of wild animals, especially beavers, foxes, and the like, sewed together in the manner of savages, with which they cover themselves entirely in winter, and slightly in summer. Their food principally consists of maize or Indian corn, from which they bake cakes resembling bread ; fish, birds, and wild game. Their weapons are bows and arrows, the latter pointed with sharp flint stones or the bones of fishes. Their boats are one piece of wood, hollowed out by fire from the solid trunks of trees. Some of them lead a wandering life in the open air with no settled habitations ; lying stretched upon the ground or on mats made of bulrushes, they take both their sleep and food, especially in summer, when they go nearer to the sea for the sake of fishing. Others have fixed places of abode, and dwellings built with rafters in the form of an oven, covered above with the bark of trees, so large that they are sufficient for several families. Their household furniture is mean and scanty, consisting of mats and wooden dishes, together with hatchets made of hard flint stone by dint of savage labour, and tubes for smoking tobacco formed likewise of flint stone ingeniously perforated, so that it is surprising how, in so great a want of iron implements, they are able to carve the stone. They neither know nor desire riches.

They have no sense of religion, no worship of God ; they indeed pay homage to the devil, but not so solemnly nor with such ceremonies as the Africans do. They call him in their language *Menutto* or *Menetto*, and whatever is wonderful and seems to exceed human capacity, they also call *Menetto* ; evidently in the same manner as we have mentioned above the Canadians use the word *Oqui*. They have no form of political government, except that they have their chiefs whom they call *sackmos* and *sagamos*, who are almost always the heads of families, for they rarely exceed the limits of one family connexion. They are like most barbarians suspicious and fearful, although greedy of revenge ; they are fickle, but if humanely treated, hospitable and ready to perform a service ; they ask only a small remuneration for what they do, and

will make very long journeys in a short time with greater fidelity than could be justly expected from such a barbarous people. Nor is it to be doubted that by associating with Christians they could be imbued with religion and correct manners, especially if there should be planted among them colonies of well ordered people, who would employ their services without violence or abuse, and by degrees accustom them to the worship of the true God and the habits of civilized life.

I cannot omit giving some idea of the language of these barbarians, (as I have done with others,) and especially of the *Sankikans*, who dwell on the upper part of the South river, as we shall presently relate.

Their names of numerals are the following :—

1 Cotté	6 Cottash	20 Myssynach	70 Nyssastigen
2 Nyssé	7 Nyssas	30 Nackynagh	80 Gahashynagh
3 Nacha	8 Gechas	40 Weywynag	90 Pescongynach
4 Wywe	9 Pescon	50 Parathgynah	100 Cottapach.
5 Parenagh	10 Terren	60 Cottegynagh	

The parts of the human body are thus named.

Head,	Wyer.	Breast,	Toorsay.
Eye,	Schinquoy.	Fingers,	Rinskan.
Mouth,	Toonne.	Nerve,	Cheet.
Tongue,	Wyeranou.	Belly,	Nathey.
Shoulder,	Duchke.	Forehead,	Nachkaronck.
Arms,	Nachk.	Ear,	Hytrwack.
Nails,	Hyckaes.	Tooth,	Wypyt.
Stomach,	These.	Neck,	Nequoykangan.
Feet,	Syt.	Breasts,	Noenackan.
Hair,	Mytrach.	Thumb,	Rideren.
Nose,	Akywan.	Blood,	Mohocht.
Lip,	Chettoen.	Thigh,	Promine.
Chin,	Hochquoy.		

The names of the sexes are—

Male, Renoes. Female, Orquoywe.

The elements, &c.:—Fire, Tinteywe; Water, Empye; Frost, Kepatten; Snow, Wynoywee; Tree, Hittcocke; River, Soukeree; Hail, Tasseckii.

The names of animals:—Deer, Atto; Bear, Machquoyvo; Beaver, Témaquoy; Wolf, Metumnu; Lion, Synquoy Mackyrgh; Otter, Counamoch; Dog, Aram; Fox, Woucous.

Of birds:—Swan, Wyukyckso; Duck, Comconcke; Turkey, Sickenum; Partridge, Ourikinck; Crane, Tarecka; Turtle Dove, Mymy; Goose, Ciahack.

Of fishes :—Pike, Caopyte ; Eel, Syackameck ; Trout, Cackykane ; Perch, Caycakanesse.

Qualities :—Good, Ouret ; Bad, Matet.*

CHAPTER XII.

A Description of the maritime coast to the other river, and to 38° north latitude.

Between the sandy point (*Sandy Hook*) that we have said shuts in the bay, as it were, at the entrance of the North river, and the extremity of the islands which the *Mattouwacky* inhabit, the distance is seventy-five miles, according to the most correct observations of our countrymen, from north-east to south-west, and the sea preserves almost half the distance a channel sufficiently deep. In leaving this bay and sailing along the coast to the south, the land appears first lofty and visible on both sides, extending towards the south and then bending a little more to the west without breakers or shoals ; near the shore on the main land are seen sand hills, but a little beyond the land sensibly declines and becomes lower, the shore being separated from the continent by intermediate water. The surface of the sea is almost uninterrupted except that here and there small banks of sand are seen, and the shore being intersected by inlets affords a passage for the water of the ocean in several places ; this is the case in an especial manner in lat. 39° 15' at a place our countrymen call *Egg Harbour*, or *Bay-port* ; for here the shore being penetrated by the waters of the ocean receives them into an open bay in which several small islands are dispersed. After passing this harbour, woods are observed near the shore, and presently a number of sandy hills ; then the shore becomes low ; forests and sometimes one or more hillocks are seen. All this coast bears to the south-west as far as the entrance of another bay of considerable extent, lying between two promontories several leagues apart, of which the one on the north is called *Cape May*, and the one on the south *Cape Cornelius* from the first discoverer. This bay is extremely hazardous to navigators on account of the frequent shoals and sand bars, so that it cannot be entered without the greatest danger, except with a very skilful pilot ; nevertheless there are channels of sufficient depth among the shoals.

Into the bosom of this bay flows a great river, descending

* This vocabulary consists of words in the language of the Delawares, and proves that the Sanhickans belonged to that nation. See GALLATIN on the Indian languages, in *Transactions Am. Antiq. Soc.* vol. ii.

from the interior of the country, which is called South river to distinguish it from the other of which we have already spoken, and it has been explored by several of our navigators. There are besides a number of smaller streams that discharge into this bay. But since a satisfactory account of this river has not yet reached us, I shall omit saying any thing more concerning it. I only add that various nations of savages inhabit its banks and possess the interior districts. On a smaller stream that flows into the bay a little below the mouth of the large river, dwell the *Sewapoos*; immediately above on the right hand are the *Siconysy*, and on the left the *Minquasy*; higher up are the *Naraticongy*, *Mantaesy*, *Arnevvamery*, all of whom in the order of which we have mentioned them, inhabit the right bank near the smaller streams that empty into the larger river. Farther removed from the river are the *Mæ-roahkongy*, *Amakaraongky*, *Remkokes*, *Minquosy* or *Machot-retini*, *Atsayongky*; and the farthest removed of all are the *Mattikongy* and *Sankikanes*, who extend to the fortieth degree of north latitude and are about fifty-four miles from the mouth of the river; some of them are adjacent to the *Sawanos*, *Capitanasses*, *Gacheos*, and others who differ little or nothing in their mode of life and manners from those whom we have already described; they cultivate the land and subsist on maize and beans. Moreover Cape Cornelius, as they call it, is in 38° and 55' north latitude; from thence following the direction of the coast which trends to the south-west, we meet at the distance of twelve miles with another cape which our people call *Hinlopen*, from which the direction of the coast is at first southerly and afterwards south-west as far as latitude 33°, where we stop for the present.

NOTE.

It has probably been observed that a slight discrepancy exists in the statements of our author in respect to the precise date of the erection of the first fort on the river. In one place, (p. 291,) he refers to the year 1615, as the time; and in another, (p. 299,) he mentions the building of a redoubt on an island nearly in the latitude of Albany during the previous year. The later editions of the work contain the same statements without any material variation. Bancroft supposes that De Laet confounded the fort near Albany with one built at the mouth of the river in 1614, where Adrian Block (not '*Blok*') had his quarters in that year; adding

that "the Dutch Records prove there was no fort at Albany till 1615."* This supposition does not, however, reconcile the discrepancies in De Laet, who in mentioning the year 1615 evidently intends it as the date of the first fort on the river, without stating its particular locality.

Mr. Barnard, whose excellent memoir of the late Stephen Van Rensselaer has been already cited, considers the proof to which Bancroft refers as "too indefinite and uncertain to control the direct testimony in the case."† The "direct testimony" is the statement of De Laet; but since that author is not consistent with himself in this matter, as we have seen, no reliance can be placed on the precise accuracy of the dates given by him. The colonial records are therefore appealed to with manifest propriety for the determination of the point in dispute.

A greater importance has been attached to this question than really belongs to it, from the circumstance that the priority of settlement on the river seemed to depend upon it. Smith‡ and other writers have stated the matter in such a way as to lead to the prevalent impression that Albany was settled before the city of New-York. But granting for the sake of argument, that the fort at Albany was built prior to any on Manhattan Island, it does not follow that the settlement was made earlier at the former place; since it is quite certain that an establishment for the purposes of trade existed on Manhattan island in the year 1613, before it is pretended that any fort was erected on the river. The testimony bearing on this point will be fully given hereafter; at present it is sufficient to say that it is drawn from an early account of the hostile visit of Capt Samuel Argall, of the Virginia colony, to our waters on his return from an expedition against the French settlements in Acadie, called by the English *Nova Scotia*. The forts were doubtless built as soon as practicable after this occurrence, but it would be necessary in the first place to send advices to Holland, and to obtain from thence the ordnance and other means of defence necessary for the purpose of completing the forts. This may have been partially done during the following year, 1614, but it is not likely to have been fully accomplished, all things considered, (especially the great length of the voyages at that early period,) before the arrival of the second season.

EDITOR.

* Hist. United States, ii. 272—3, notes.

† Discourse on the Life and Services of Stephen Van Rensselaer—with an Appendix, containing an Historical Sketch of the Colony of Rensselaerwyck, p. 46.

‡ History of New-York, i. 3.

VIII.

EXTRACT from the JOURNAL
OF THE
VOYAGE OF THE HALF-MOON,
HENRY HUDSON, MASTER,
FROM THE NETHERLANDS
TO THE
COAST OF NORTH-AMERICA,
IN THE YEAR
1609.

BY ROBERT JUET, MATE.

NOTE.

IT is not our intention to republish the entire journal of the memorable voyage during which Hudson discovered the noble river that now bears his name, since it has already appeared in a former volume of this Society's Collections. But for the purpose of enabling readers who may not have the means of referring to that publication, to compare Juet's account of the discoveries in this quarter with the description of De Laet, derived from Hudson's own journal, which that author unquestionably had before him when he wrote, we have thought best to reprint that portion of the journal, or logbook of the *Mate*, (for it is little more,) which relates to the great event of the voyage. The zeal of the Rev. Samuel Purchas, of London, in the cause of maritime discovery, led him to collect all the original accounts of voyages to distant and unknown parts of the globe on the accuracy of which he could depend, and his diligence in this respect has never been surpassed. To him we are indebted for the preservation of this journal, containing the only original account of Hudson's voyage ever published, which first appeared in his great and now rare work, the "*PILGRIMS*," in 1625. The writer, Robert Juet, accompanied Hudson on his next and last voyage, in 1610, which proved fatal to both of them; the latter, having been turned adrift by a mutinous crew in a small boat upon the open ocean, with little or no means of sustenance, was never again heard from. Juet remained in the ship, but perished with famine before her arrival in port.

It will be recollected that Hudson left Amsterdam on the fourth of April, 1609, and during the early part of his voyage sailed to the north toward Nova Zembla; returning southwardly he passed over the banks of Newfoundland, touched on some part of the coast of Maine in the latter part of July; thence ran over to Cape Cod, where he landed, and afterwards stood to the south as far as the latitude of South Carolina. He then retraced his course, keeping near the land, looked in at the entrance of Chesapeake bay,

where Juet says "our Englishmen are," referring to the colony of Jamestown, then recently planted; thence his course lay to the north, and on the 28th of August he arrived at the capes of Delaware bay, of which there was no previous account. At this point we take up the thread of the journal, and follow it to the end of the voyage.

It will be noticed that the orthography of the original edition has been changed to that of the present time. The days of the week have also been added in some instances, together with a few explanatory notes. The reader is referred to Moulton's History of New-York for an interesting analysis and illustration of this journal.

EDITOR.

JOURNAL, &c.

Friday, Aug. 28. Fair and hot weather, the wind at south-south-west. In the morning at six o'clock we weighed, and steered away north twelve leagues till noon, and came to the point of the land; and being hard by the land in five fathoms, on a sudden we came into three fathoms; then we bore up and had but ten foot water, and joined to the point. Then as soon as we were over, we had five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve and thirteen fathoms. Then we found the land to trend away north-west, with a great bay and rivers. But the bay we found shoal; and in the offing we had ten fathoms, and had sight of breaches and dry sand. Then we were forced to stand back again; so we stood back south-east by south three leagues. And at seven o'clock we anchored in eight fathoms water; and found a tide set north-west, and north-north-west, and it rises one fathom, and flows south-south-east. And he that will thoroughly discover this great bay, must have a small pinnacle, that must draw but four or five foot water, to sound before him. At five in the morning we weighed, and steered away to the eastward on many courses, for the more norther land is full of shoals. We were among them, and once we struck, and we went away; and steered away to the south-east. So we had two, three, four, five, six, and seven fathoms, and so deeper and deeper.*

August 29. Fair weather, with some thunder and showers, the wind shifting between the south-south-west, and the north-north-west. In the morning we weighed at the break of day, and stood towards the northern land, which we found to be all islands to our sight, and great storms from them, and are shoal three leagues off. For we coming by them, had but seven, six, five, four, three, and two and a half fathoms, and struck the ground with our rudder, we steered off south-west one glass, and had five fathoms. Then we steered south-east three glasses, then we found seven fathoms, and steered north-east by east, four leagues, and came to twelve and thirteen fathoms. At one

* Lord Delaware touched at this bay on his passage to Virginia in 1610,—and thence was probably supposed by the English to have discovered it, as it was named from him. The earliest notice of it under the name of *Delaware bay* with which we have met, is in a letter of Captain Argall written from Virginia, in May, 1612, contained in Purchas.

o'clock, I went to the top-mast head, and set the land, and the body of the islands did bear north-west by north. And at four o'clock, we had gone four leagues east-south-east, and north-east by east, and found but seven fathoms, and it was calm, so we anchored. Then I went again to the top-mast head, to see how far I could see land about us, and could see no more but the islands. And the southern point of them did bear north-west by west, eight leagues off. So we rode till midnight. Then the wind came to the north-north-west, so we weighed and set sail.

Sunday, August 30. In the morning between twelve and one, we weighed and stood to the eastward, the wind at north-north-west, we steered away and made our way east-south-east. From our weighing till noon, eleven leagues. Our soundings were eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve and thirteen fathoms till day. Then we came to eighteen, nineteen, twenty, and to twenty-six fathoms by noon. Then I observed the sun, and found the height to be $39^{\circ} 5'$, and saw no land. In the afternoon, the wind came to north by west; so we lay close by with our fore-sail, and our main-sail, and it was little wind until twelve o'clock at midnight, then we had a gale a little while. Then I sounded, and all the night our soundings were thirty, and thirty-six fathoms, and we went little.

August 31. Fair weather and little wind. At six o'clock in the morning we cast about to the northward, the wind being at the north-east, little wind. At noon it fell calm, and I found the height to be $38^{\circ} 39'$. And the streams had deceived us, and our sounding was thirty-eight fathoms. In the afternoon I sounded again, and had but thirty fathoms. So that we found that we were heaved to and fro with the streams of the tide, both by our observations and our depths. From noon till four o'clock in the afternoon, it was calm. At six o'clock we had a little gale southerly, and it continued all night, some times calm, and sometimes a gale; we went eight leagues from noon to noon, north by east.

Tuesday, Sept. 1. Fair weather, the wind variable between east and south, we steered away north-north-west. At noon we found our height to be $39^{\circ} 3'$. We had soundings thirty, twenty-seven, twenty-four, and twenty-two fathoms, as we went to the northward. At six o'clock we had twenty-one fathoms. And all the third watch till twelve o'clock at mid-night, we had soundings twenty-one, twenty-two, eighteen, twenty-two, twenty-one, eighteen, and twenty-two fathoms, and went six leagues near hand north-north-west.

Sept. 2. In the morning close weather, the wind at south in the morning; from twelve until two o'clock we steered north-north-west, and had sounding twenty-one fathoms, and in

running one glass we had but sixteen fathoms, then seventeen, and so shoaler and shoaler until it came to twelve fathoms. We saw a great fire, but could not see the land, then we came to ten fathoms, whereupon we brought our tacks aboard, and stood to the eastward east-south-east, four glasses. Then the sun arose, and we steered away north again, and saw land from the west by north, to the north-west by north, all like broken islands, and our soundings were eleven and ten fathoms. Then we luffed in for the shore, and fair by the shore we had seven fathoms. The course along the land we found to be north-east by north. From the land which we first had sight of, until we came to a great lake of water, as we could judge it to be, being drowned land, which made it rise like islands, which was in length ten leagues. The mouth of the lake hath many shoals, and the sea breaks upon them as it is cast out of the mouth of it.* And from that lake or bay, the land lies north by east, and we had a great stream out of the bay; and from thence our sounding was ten fathoms, two leagues from land. At five o'clock we anchored, being little wind, and rode in eight fathoms water, the night was fair. This night I found the land to haul the compass 8 degrees. For to the northward off us we saw high hills.† For the day before we found not above two degrees of variation. This is very good land to fall in with, and a pleasant land to see.

Sept. 3. The morning misty until ten o'clock, then it cleared, and the wind came to the south-south-east, so we weighed and stood to the northward. The land is very pleasant and high, and bold to fall withal. At three o'clock in the afternoon, we came to three great rivers. So we stood along the northernmost, thinking to have gone into it, but we found it to have a very shoal bar before it, for we had but ten foot water. Then we cast about to the southward, and found two fathoms, three fathoms, and three and a quarter, till we came to the southern side of them, then we had five and six fathoms, and anchored. So we sent in our boat to sound, and they found no less water than four, five, six, and seven fathoms, and returned in an hour and a half. So we weighed and went in, and rode in five fathoms, ooze ground, and saw many salmons, and mullets, and rays very great. The height is $40^{\circ} 30'$.‡

* Great and Little Egg Harbours, and Barnegat bay, on the coast of New Jersey, form a continuous body of water, containing numerous islands of salt marsh that are often overflowed. The sea breaks at the entrances of the different inlets by which these bays communicate with the ocean.

† The Nevisink hills.

‡ The lighthouse on Sandy Hook is in latitude $40^{\circ} 27'$, varying but little from Hudson's observation, which seems to have been taken after he had passed the extremity of the Hook. Two of the "three great rivers" mentioned in the Journal, were doubtless the Narrows and Staten Island Sound; and the

Sept. 4. In the morning as soon as the day was light, we saw that it was good riding farther up. So we sent our boat to sound, and found that it was a very good harbour; and four and five fathoms, two cables length from the shore. Then we weighed and went in with our ship. Then our boat went on land with our net to fish, and caught ten great mullets, of a foot and a half long a piece, and a ray as great as four men could haul into the ship. So we trimmed our boat and rode still all day. At night the wind blew hard at the north-west, and our anchor came home, and we drove on shore, but took no hurt, thanked be God, for the ground is soft sand and ooze. This day the people of the country came aboard of us, seeming very glad of our coming, and brought green tobacco, and gave us of it for knives and beads. They go in deer skins loose, well dressed. They have yellow copper. They desire clothes, and are very civil. They have great store of maize or *Indian* wheat, whereof they make good bread. The country is full of great and tall oaks.

Sept. 5. In the morning as soon as the day was light, the wind ceased and the flood came. So we heaved off our ship again into five fathoms water, and sent our boat to sound the bay, and we found that there was three fathoms hard by the southern shore. Our men went on land there, and saw great store of men, women and children, who gave them tobacco at their coming on land. So they went up into the woods, and saw great store of very goodly oaks, and some currants. For one of them came aboard and brought some dried, and gave me some, which were sweet and good. This day many of the people came aboard, some in mantles of feathers, and some in skins of divers sorts of good furs. Some women also came to us with hemp. They had red copper tobacco pipes, and other things of copper they did wear about their necks. At night they went on land again, so we rode very quiet, but durst not trust them.

Sunday, Sept. 6. In the morning was fair weather, and our master sent *John Colman*, with four other men in our boat over to the north side, to sound the other river, being four leagues from us.* They found by the way shoal water two fathoms;

third, being the northernmost, with a shoal bar before it, having but ten feet water, was probably Rockaway Inlet, which is laid down on the map of De Laet as a river intersecting Long Island. This inlet is barred at its mouth, with seven feet of water at low tide. From thence Hudson apparently stood over towards the Hook, where he anchored in five or six fathoms water, and sent the small boat round the point to ascertain the soundings; after its return he again weighed anchor, and went inside of the Hook, where he rode in five fathoms, having probably anchored in the roadstead called the *Horse-shoe*, or Sandy Hook bay.

* The Narrows.

bent at the north of the river eighteen, and twenty fathoms, and and very good riding for ships; and a narrow river to the westward between two islands.* The land they told us were as pleasant with grass and flowers, and goodly trees, as ever they had seen, and very sweet smells came from them. So they went in two leagues and saw an open sea, and returned; and as they came back, they were set upon by two canoes, the one having twelve, the other fourteen men. The night came on, and it began to rain, so that their match went out; and they had one man slain in the fight, which was an *Englishman*, named *John Colman*, with an arrow shot into his throat, and two more hurt. It grew so dark that they could not find the ship that night, but laboured to and fro on their oars. They had so great a stream that their grapnel would not hold them.

Sept. 7. Was fair, and by ten o'clock they returned aboard the ship, and brought our dead man with them, whom we carried on land and buried, and named the point after his name, *Colman's Point*. Then we hoisted in our boat, and raised her side with waste boards for defence of our men. So we rode still all night, having good regard to our watch.

Sept. 8. Was very fair weather, we rode still very quietly. The people came aboard us, and brought tobacco and *Indian* wheat, to exchange for knives and beads, and offered us no violence. So we fitting up our boat did mark them, to see if they would make any show of the death of our man; which they did not.

Sept. 9. Fair weather. In the morning, two great canoes came aboard full of men; the one with their bows and arrows, and the other in show of buying of knives to betray us; but we perceived their intent. We took two of them to have kept them, and put red coats on them, and would not suffer the other to come near us. So they went on land, and two others came aboard in a canoe; we took the one and let the other go; but he which we had taken, got up and leaped over-board. Then we weighed and went off into the channel of the river, and anchored there all night.

Sept. 10. Fair weather, we rode till twelve o'clock. Then we weighed and went over, and found it shoal all the middle of the river, for we could find but two fathoms and a half, and three fathoms for the space of a league; then we came to three fathoms, and four fathoms, and so to seven fathoms, and anchored, and rode all night in soft oozy ground. The bank is sand.

Sept. 11. Was fair and very hot weather. At one o'clock in the afternoon, we weighed and went into the river, the wind at south-south-west, little wind. Our soundings were seven,

* Staten Island Sound, or the Kills.

six, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen fathoms. Then it shoaled again, and came to five fathoms. Then we anchored and saw that it was a very good harbour for all winds, and rode all night. The people of the country came aboard of us, making show of love, and gave us tobacco and *Indian* wheat, and departed for that night; but we durst not trust them.

Sept. 12. Very fair and hot. In the afternoon at two o'clock we weighed, the wind being variable, between the north and the north-west; so we turned into the river two leagues and anchored. This morning at our first rode in the river, there came eight and twenty canoes full of men, women and children to betray us; but we saw their intent, and suffered none of them to come aboard us. At twelve o'clock they departed. They brought with them oysters and beans, whereof we bought some. They have great tobacco pipes of yellow copper, and pots of earth to dress their meat in. It floweth south-east by south within.

Sunday, Sept. 13. Fair weather; the wind northerly; at seven o'clock in the morning, as the flood came we weighed, and turned four miles into the river; the tide being done we anchored.* Then there came four canoes aboard, but we suffered none of them to come into our ship; they brought very great store of very good oysters aboard, which we bought for trifles. In the night I set the variation of the compass, and found it to be 13° . In the afternoon we weighed and turned in with the flood two leagues and a half further and anchored all night, and had five fathoms soft oozy ground, and had a high point of land, which shewed out to us, bearing north by east five leagues off us.

Sept. 14. In the morning being very fair weather, the wind south-east, we sailed up the river twelve leagues, and had five fathoms and five fathoms and a quarter less, and came to a strait between two points, and had eight, nine and ten fathoms; and it trended north-east by north one league, and we had twelve, thirteen and fourteen fathoms; the river is a mile broad; there is very high land on both sides. Then we went up north-west, a league and a half deep water; then north-east by north five miles; then north-west by north two leagues and anchored. The land grew very high and mountainous;† the river is full of fish.

* Hudson, having left his anchorage in the lower bay on the 10th, commenced working his way up into the harbour. His progress was slow; on the 11th there was but little wind, and the two following days the wind was ahead, and he could only move with the flood tide. It was not until the 14th, that he began to ascend the river in earnest.

† Hudson was now entering the Highlands, and approaching West Point.

Sept. 15. The morning was misty until the sun arose, then it cleared; so we weighed with the wind at south, and ran up into the river twenty leagues, passing by high mountains. We had a very good depth, as six, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, and thirteen fathoms, and great store of salmon in the river. This morning our two savages got out of a port and swam away. After we were under sail they called to us in scorn. At night we came to other mountains, which lie from the river's side; there we found very loving people, and very old men, where we were well used. Our boat went to fish, and caught great store of very good fish.

Sept. 16. The sixteenth, fair and very hot weather. In the morning our boat went again to fishing, but could catch but few, by reason their canoes had been there all night. This morning the people came aboard and brought us ears of *Indian* corn and pompions and tobacco, which we bought for trifles. We rode still all day, and filled fresh water; at night we weighed and went two leagues higher, and had shoal water; so we anchored till day.

Sept. 17. The seventeenth fair sun-shining weather, and very hot. In the morning as soon as the sun was up, we set sail and ran up six leagues higher, and found shoals in the middle of the channel, and small islands, but seven fathoms water on both sides. Towards night we borrowed so near the shore that we grounded: so we laid out our small anchor, and heaved off again. Then we borrowed on the bank in the channel and came aground again; while the flood ran we heaved off again and anchored all night.

Friday, Sept. 18. The eighteenth in the morning was fair weather, and we rode still. In the afternoon our master's mate went on land with an old savage, a governor of the country, who carried him to his house and made him good cheer.*

Sept. 19. The nineteenth was fair and hot weather. At the flood, being near eleven o'clock, we weighed and ran higher up two leagues above the shoals, and had no less water than five fathoms: we anchored and rode in eight fathoms: the people of the country came flocking aboard, and brought us grapes and pompions, which we bought for trifles; and many brought us beavers' skins, and otters' skins, which we bought for beads, knives and hatchets. So we rode there all night.

Sunday, Sept. 20. The twentieth in the morning was fair weather. Our master's mate with four men more went up

* This was probably the visit more particularly ascribed by Hudson himself, as cited by De Laet, (above p. 300,) where the latitude of the place is stated to have been $42^{\circ} 18'$. As the present city of Hudson is in lat. $42^{\circ} 14'$, the Chief must have resided in that vicinity. Hudson remained there several days, (until the 23d,) and then commenced his return.

with our boat to sound the river, and found two leagues above us but two fathoms water, and the channel very narrow, and above that place seven or eight fathoms. Toward night they returned : and we rode still all night.

Sept. 21. The twenty-first was fair weather, and the wind all southerly : we determined yet once more to go farther up into the river, to try what depth and breadth it did bear, but much people resorted aboard, so we went not this day. Our carpenter went on land and made a fore-yard, and our master and his mate determined to try some of the chief men of the country, whether they had any treachery in them. So they took them down into the cabin and gave them so much wine and *agua-vita*, that they were all merry, and one of them had his wife with him, who sat as modestly, as any of our countrywomen would do in a strange place. In the end one of them was drunk, who had been aboard of our ship all the time that we had been there ; and that was strange to them ; for they could not tell how to take it : the canoes and folks went all on shore, but some of them came again and brought stropes of beads ; some had six, seven, eight, nine, ten, and gave him. So he slept all night quietly.

Sept. 22. The two and twentieth was fair weather : in the morning our master's mate and four more of the company went up with our boat to sound the river higher up. The people of the country came not aboard till noon, but when they came and saw the savages well, they were glad. So at three o'clock in the afternoon they came aboard and brought tobacco and more beads and gave them to our master, and made an oration, and shewed him all the country round about. Then they sent one of their company on land, who presently returned and brought a great platter full of venison, dressed by themselves, and they caused him to eat with them : then they made him reverence and departed all save the old man that lay aboard. This night at ten o'clock, our boat returned in a shower of rain from sounding of the river, and found it to be at an end for shipping to go in. For they had been up eight or nine leagues, and found but seven foot water, and unconstant soundings.*

* The boat probably reached Castle Island, (now called Patroon's Island, just below Albany,) where a rude fortification was erected in 1614-5. It is supposed, however, by Moulton, (*Hist. New York*, 246.) that the ship itself proceeded to Albany, and the boat to the forks of the Mohawk, where the village of Waterford, in the town of *Half-Moon*, is now situated. The latitude of Albany is $42^{\circ} 39'$; and De Laet, who is followed by Ebeling and Lambrechtsen, says Hudson ascended to lat. 43° , or about twenty-five miles above Albany, and fifteen above Waterford. Another work cited by Moulton, (*a Collection of Dutch East-India Voyages*), gives $42^{\circ} 40'$ as the height to which Hudson went up, but whether the ship's or the boat's progress is intended, does not appear. Mr. Yates, in a MS. letter also quoted by Moulton, decides in favor of the former, and adds that the boat only proceeded as far as Waterford. But this last sup-

Wednesday, Sept. 23. The three and twentieth, fair weather. At twelve o'clock we weighed and went down two leagues to a shoal that had two channels, one on the one side, and another on the other, and had little wind, whereby the tide laid us upon it. So there we sat on the ground the space of an hour till the flood came. Then we had a little gale of wind at the west; so we got our ship into deep water, and rode all night very well.

Sept. 24. The four and twentieth was fair weather; the wind at the north-west, we weighed and went down the river seven or eight leagues; and at half ebb we came on ground on a bank of ooze in the middle of the river, and sat there till the flood; then we went on land and gathered good store of chestnuts. At ten o'clock we came off into deep water, and anchored.

Sept. 25. The five and twentieth was fair weather, and the wind at south a stiff gale. We rode still, and went on land to walk on the west side of the river, and found good ground for corn, and other garden herbs, with great store of goodly oaks, and walnut trees, and chestnut trees, yew trees, and trees of sweet wood in great abundance, and great store of slate for houses, and other good stones.

Sept. 26. The six and twentieth was fair weather, and the wind at south a stiff gale; we rode still. In the morning our carpenter went on land with our master's mate and four more of our company to cut wood. This morning two canoes came up the river from the place where we first found loving people, and in one of them was the old man that had lain aboard of us at the other place. He brought another old man with him who brought more strips of beads and gave them to our master, and showed him all the country there about, as though it were at

position is directly at variance with the statement in the Journal, that the boat went up *eight or nine leagues* farther than the ship.

Ship navigation in the river extends five or six miles above the city of Hudson, to about lat. $42^{\circ} 18'$; beyond this point vessels drawing more than six feet of water are generally unable to ascend. Moulton supposes the Half-Moon to have been of the small class of vessels, of less burthen than sloops plying between Troy and New-York. But it will be recollected that on making Sandy Hook, Hudson declined entering what appeared to be the mouth of a large river, because "*it had a very shoal bar before it, where they had but ten feet water.*" Is it probable then, that he ventured or was able to pursue his course beyond the point indicated as the head of ship navigation on the river, when he would encounter shoals of only six or seven feet at high water?

The chief difficulty is with De Laet's statement that Hudson went up to lat. 43° . This, however is made in the course of his general relation, when he would be likely to use round numbers, as on p. 298. He afterwards quotes Hudson's Journal which mentions $42^{\circ} 18'$ as the latitude of the place where he visited the hospitable old Chief, and the only visit of the kind noticed by Juet occurred on the 18th, near the termination of the ship's upward progress. The boat was sent up eight or nine leagues further, and probably reached Castle Island.

his command. So he made the two old men dine with him, and the old man's wife ; for they brought two old women and two young maidens of the age of sixteen or seventeen years with them, who behaved themselves very modestly. Our master gave one of the old men a knife, and they gave him and us tobacco ; and at one o'clock they departed down the river, making signs that we should come down to them, for we were within two leagues of the place where they dwelt.

Sunday, Sept. 27. The seven and twentieth, in the morning, was fair weather, but much wind at the north ; we weighed and set our fore-topsail, and our ship would not float, but ran on the oozy bank at half ebb. We laid out anchor to heave her off, but could not ; so we sat from half ebb to half flood, then we set our foresail and main-topsail, and got down six leagues. The old man came aboard, and would have had us anchor and go on land to eat with him, but the wind being fair we would not yield to his request, so he left us, being very sorrowful for our departure. At five o'clock in the afternoon, the wind came to the south south-west ; so we made a bord or two, and anchored in fourteen fathoms water. Then our boat went on shore to fish right against the ship. Our master's mate and boatswain, and three more of the company, went on land to fish, but could not find a good place. They took four or five and twenty mullets, breams, basses and barbils, and returned in an hour. We rode still all night.

Sept. 28. The eight and twentieth being fair weather, as soon as the day was light we weighed at half ebb, and turned down two leagues below water, for the stream doth run the last quarter ebb, then we anchored till high water. At three o'clock in the afternoon we weighed and turned down three leagues until it was dark, then we anchored.

Sept. 29. The nine and twentieth was dry close weather, the wind at south and south by west ; we weighed early in the morning, and turned down three leagues by a low water, and anchored at the lower end of the long reach, for it is six leagues long. Then there came certain Indians in a canoe to us, but would not come aboard. After dinner there came the canoe with other men, whereof three came aboard us ; they brought Indian wheat which we bought for trifles. At three o'clock in the afternoon we weighed, as soon as the ebb came, and turned down to the edge of the mountains, or the northermost of the mountains, and anchored, because the high land hath many points and a narrow channel, and hath many eddy winds ; so we rode quietly all night in seven fathoms water.*

* This was probably in the vicinity of the present town of Newburgh. Hudson remained there nearly two days, fearing to enter the Highlands on account of the violence of the winds.

Sept. 30. The thirtieth was fair weather, and the wind at south-east a stiff gale between the mountains. We rode still the afternoon. The people of the country came aboard us, and brought some small skins with them, which we bought for knives and trifles. This is a very pleasant place to build a town on. The road is very near, and very good for all winds, save an east north-east wind. The mountains look as if some metal or mineral were in them; for the trees that grew on them were all blasted, and some of them barren with few or no trees on them. The people brought a stone aboard like to emery, (a stone used by glaziers to cut glass,) it would cut iron or steel; yet being bruised small, and water put to it, it made a colour like black lead glistening; it is also good for painters' colours. At three o'clock they departed, and we rode still all night.

Thursday, Oct. 1. The first of October, fair weather, the wind variable between west and the north. In the morning we weighed at seven o'clock with the ebb, and got down below the mountains, which was seven leagues; then it fell calm and the flood was come, and we anchored at twelve o'clock. The people of the mountains came aboard us, wondering at our ship and weapons. We bought some small skins of them for trifles. This afternoon one canoe kept hanging under our stern with one man in it, which we could not keep from thence, who got up by our rudder to the cabin window, and stole out my pillow, and two shirts, and two bandeleeres. Our master's mate shot at him, and struck him on the breast, and killed him. Whereupon all the rest fled away, some in their canoes, and so leaped out of them into the water. We manned our boat and got our things again. Then one of them that swam got hold of our boat, thinking to overthrow it; but our cook took a sword and cut off one of his hands, and he was drowned. By this time the ebb was come, and we weighed and got down two leagues—by that time it was dark; so we anchored in four fathoms water, and rode well.

Oct. 2. The second, fair weather. At break of day we weighed, the wind being at north-west, and got down seven leagues; then the flood was come strong, so we anchored. Then came one of the savages that swam away from us at our going up the river, with many others, thinking to betray us. But we perceived their intent, and suffered none of them to enter our ship. Whereupon two canoes full of men, with their bows and arrows, shot at us after our stern, in recompense whereof we discharged six muskets, and killed two or three of them. Then above a hundred of them came to a point of land to shoot at us. There I shot a falcon* at them, and killed two

* A sort of cannon.

of them, whereupon the rest fled into the woods. Yet they manned off another canoe with nine or ten men, which came to meet us ; so I shot at it also a falcon, and shot it through, and killed one of them. Then our men with their muskets killed three or four more of them. So they went their way. Within a while after, we got down two leagues beyond that place, and anchored in a bay clear from all danger of them on the other side of the river, where we saw a very good piece of ground ; and hard by it there was a cliff that looked of the colour of white green, as though it were either a copper or silver mine ; and I think it to be one of them by the trees that grow upon it ; for they be all burned, and the other places are green as grass ; it is on that side of the river that is called *Manna-hata*. There we saw no people to trouble us, and rode quietly all night, but had much wind and rain.

Oct. 3. The third was very stormy, the wind at east north-east. In the morning, in a gust of wind and rain, our anchor came home, and we drove on ground, but it was oozy. Then as we were about to heave out an anchor, the wind came to the north north-west, and drove us off again. Then we shot an anchor, and let it fall in four fathoms water, and weighed the other. We had much wind and rain with thick weather, so we rode still all night.

Oct. 4. The fourth was fair weather, and the wind at north north-west : we weighed and came out of the river, into which we had run so far. Within a while after, we came out also of *the great mouth of the great river*, that runneth up to the north-west, borrowing upon the more northern side of the same, thinking to have deep water, for we had sounded a great way with our boat at our first going in, and found seven, six, and five fathoms. So we came out that way, but we were deceived, for we had but eight feet and a half water ; and so to three, five, three, and two fathoms and a half ; and then three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine and ten fathoms ; and by twelve o'clock we were clear of all the inlet.* Then we took in our boat, and set our mainsail and spritsail, and our topsails, and steered away east south-east, and south-east by east, off into the main sea ; and the land on the southern side of the bay or inlet did bear at noon west and by south four leagues from us.

Oct. 5. The fifth was fair weather, and the wind variable between the north and the east. We held on our course south-east by east. At noon I observed and found our height to be 39 degrees 30 minutes. Our compass varied six degrees to the west.

* It would appear that Hudson left the harbour by the Kills, although that passage can scarcely be considered the "great mouth" of the river.

We continued our course toward England without seeing any land by the way, all the rest of this month of October ; and on the seventh day of November, *stilo novo*, being Saturday, by the grace of God, we safely arrived in the range of Dartmouth in Devonshire, in the year 1609.*

* If Hudson put in at an English port on his return, (which is doubtful,) he very soon repaired to Amsterdam. De Laet says " he returned to Amsterdam with the report of his discoveries, and in the following year, 1610, some merchants again sent a ship thither," &c., *Supra*, p. 291. Other statements, that he was detained in England, &c., seem to be unsupported.

IX.

EXPEDITION

OF

CAPTAIN SAMUEL ARGALL,

Afterwards Governor of Virginia, Knight, &c.

TO

THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN ACADIA

AND

MANHATTAN ISLAND,

A. D. 1613.

BY THE EDITOR.

ARGALL'S EXPEDITION.

THE earliest indication of a permanent settlement within the present limits of New-York has been generally traced by historical writers to the alleged erection of a fort near Albany, in 1614. On a small alluvial island, one hundred and fifty miles above the mouth of the river, the foundations not only of a flourishing city, but of a great commonwealth, are supposed to have been laid by a few Dutch adventurers whose only aim was a gainful traffic with the natives of the country. Such a settlement was indeed made, but there seems to have been an error in regarding it as prior to all others. It is known that the Dutch visited the river the year after its discovery, and that they continued to frequent it from year to year for the purposes of trade, until it was found necessary to erect forts for their protection. What their establishments were before the building of the forts, is not stated by any of the Dutch writers within our knowledge ; but undoubted though incidental authority enables us to form a correct idea of the state of things on Manhattan Island in 1613, or four years after the discovery of the river. We refer to the accounts of the expedition of Captain Samuel Argall against the French colonists of Acadia, who, as he was returning to Virginia, made a passing visit to the Dutch on "Manhattas Isle."

The following brief notice of this event is taken from an English publication, containing a description of the country granted by Charles I. to Sir Edmund Ployden, under the name of "the Province of New Albion," in 1634, embracing an extensive territory north of Maryland.*

"Then Virginia being granted, settled, and all that part now called Maryland, New Albion, and New Scotland, (Nova-Scotia,) being part of Virginia, Sir Thomas Dale, and Sir Samuel Argall, Captains and Counsellors of Virginia, hearing of divers aliens and intruders, and traders without license, with a vessel and forty soldiers, landed at a place called Mount Desert in Nova-Scotia, near St. John's river, or Tweed, possessed by the French ; there killed some French, took away their guns and

* Entitled, "A Description of the Province of New Albion ; and a direction for adventurers with small stock, to get two for one, and good land freely ; and for gentlemen and all servants, labourers, and artificers to live plentifully," &c. "Printed in the year 1648." Reprinted at Washington, D. C. by P. Force, 1837.

dismantled the Fort, and in their return landed at *Manhatas Isle in Hudson's river, where they found four houses built, and a pretended Dutch governor under the West India Company of Amsterdam share or part*, who kept trading boats and trucking with the Indians; but the said Knights told him their commission was to expel him and all alien intruders on his Majesty's dominion and territories; this being part of Virginia, and this river an English discovery of Hudson, an Englishman. The Dutchman contented them for their charge and voyage, and by his letter sent to Virginia and recorded, submitted himself, company and plantation to his Majesty, and to the Governor and government of Virginia; but the next pretended Dutch Governor, in maps and printed cards (charts), calling this part New-Netherlands, failing in paying of customs at his return to Plymouth in England, was there with his beaver goods and person attached to his damage £1500. Whereupon, at the suit of the Governor and Council of Virginia, his now Majesty, by his ambassador in Holland, complaining of the said aliens' intrusion on such his territories and domains, the said Lords, the States of Holland, by their public instrument declared, that they did not avow, nor would protect them, being a private party of the Amsterdam West India Company, but left them to his Majesty's will and mercy; whereupon three several orders from the council table and commissions have been granted for the expelling and removing them thence, of which they taking notice, and knowing their weakness and want of victuals, have offered to sell the same for £2500. And lastly, taking advantage of our present war and distraction, now ask £5000, and have lately offered many affronts and damages to his Majesty's subjects in New England; and in general endanger all his Majesty's adjoining countries most wickedly, feloniously, and traitorously, and contrary to the marine and admiral laws of all Christians, sell by wholesale guns, powder, shot and ammunition to the Indians, instructing them in the use of our fights and arms; insomuch as two thousand Indians by them armed, Mohacks, Raritans, and some of Long Isle, with their own guns so sold them, fall into war with the Dutch, destroyed all their scattering farms and boors, forcing them all to retire to their upper fort, forty leagues up that river, and to Manhatus; for all or most retreating to Manhatus, it is now a pretty town of trade, having more English than Dutch."

It will be noticed that the date of Argall's expedition is not

The writer, Beauchamp Plantagenet, Esq., (as he is styled,) was one of a company formed for the purpose of planting a colony in the province of New Albion, and as the grant to Ployden covered the greater part of New-Netherlands, his animosity to the Dutch is easily explained. See a copy of this grant in Hazard's *State Papers*, i. 160—179.

given by this author, but he states the circumstances attending the visit to our river more particularly than any other English writer of that period. The officer whom he styles "a pretended Dutch governor," was without doubt the *Opperkoopman*, or superintendent of the trade on the river;* and the company called "the West India Company of Amsterdam," was the association of merchants afterwards incorporated under that name. No mention is made of any fort upon the island, and as none was erected before 1614 or 1615, this circumstance of itself would render it probable that Argall's visit was made at a prior date.

As the expedition was fitted out from the Virginia colony, for the purpose of vindicating the English title to the country, it would be natural to look to that quarter for a particular account of it. But there seems to have been a studied concealment on the part of the early writers upon the affairs of that colony in relation to this matter, which can only be explained on the ground that the wanton and destructive attack in a time of profound peace, without notice of any kind, on the infant settlements of the French colonists in Acadia, was viewed as at least impolitic, and likely to lead to serious consequences between the two governments, if openly proclaimed or justified. For this, or some other reason, only incidental or meagre notices of the expedition occur in the Virginia writers. Purchas has the following reference to the enterprise without date:—

"Captain Argall's northward discoveries towards Sacadehoc, and beyond to Port Royal, Sancta Crux, and thereabout, *may not be concealed*; in which his adventures, if he had brought home no commodity to the colony, (which yet he did very much, both of apparel, victuals, and many other necessaries,) the honour which he hath done unto our nation by displanting the French, then beginning to seat and fortify within our limits, and taking of their ship and pinnace, which he brought to Jamestown, would have been reward enough for his pains, and will ever speak loud his honor and approved valour."†

In another place the same author describes more at length the controversies with the French in respect to their title to the country, but nothing is said of the visit of Argall to our river.‡ Smith, whose history of Virginia was published about the same period, is equally unsatisfactory; he says—

"Sir Thomas Dale, understanding there was a plantation of Frenchmen in the north part of Virginia, about the degrees of 45, sent Captain Argall to Port Royal and Sancta Crux, where

* Hendrick Christiaens is the first commander on the river mentioned by the Dutch writers. See above, p. 299.

† Pilgrims, l. ix. c. 10.

‡ Ibid. l. ix. c. 19.

finding the Frenchmen abroad, dispersed in the woods, surprised their ship and pinnace, which was but newly come from France, wherein was much good apparel and other provision, which he brought to Jamestown, but the men escaped and lived among the savages of those countries.”*

This is the only notice Smith takes of the expedition, and it will be seen that he is mistaken in supposing the French colonists to have escaped, as several of them were carried to Virginia. It may be likewise inferred from his statement, that the enterprise was undertaken during the administration of Sir Thomas Dale, as governor of Virginia, which would bring it within the year 1614; but this is equally erroneous, as the most conclusive evidence exists that it took place in the preceding year, under the administration of Sir Thomas Gates. Smith had no connexion at that time with the Virginia colony, having left it several years before, and this portion of his history is compiled from the statements of others, instead of being the result of his own observation and knowledge, as is the case with the earlier part of it. It is remarked by a careful writer, that Smith is “an unquestionable authority for what is related, whilst he staid in the country,” although “vastly confused and perplexed;” but “the latter part of his history . . . is liable to some suspicion. No doubt is entertained of his integrity, but being himself absent in those times upon other projects, he depended upon others for his account of things.”†

The work from which subsequent historians seem to have chiefly taken their accounts of Argall's visit to the Hudson, is Heylin's *Cosmography*, published in 1652,—a work of great learning and of high reputation at that period. After mentioning the discovery of the river and its subsequent occupation by the Dutch, he adds—“But they were hardly warm in their new habitations, when Sir Samuel Argall, governor of Virginia, specially so called, (having dispossessed the French of that part of Canada, now called Nova-Scotia, An. 1613,) disputed the possession with them; alleging that Hudson, under whose sale they claimed that country, being an Englishman, could not alienate or dismember it, (being but a part or province of Virginia,) from the crown thereof. Hereupon the Dutch governor submits himself and his plantation to his Majesty of England, and the governor of Virginia, for and under him. But a new governor being sent from Amsterdam, in the year next following, not only failed in paying the conditioned tributes, but began to fortify himself, and entitle those of Amsterdam to a just propriety.”‡

* General Hist. of Virginia. *Richmond edit.* ii. 18.

† Smith, Hist. of Virginia, *Introd.* iv. Williamsburg, 1747.

‡ Book 4th, part 2d, p. 3. Smith, pp. 132-3, appears to have drawn his account of the expedition from Smith and Heylin.

Several errors occur in this extract that have been repeated by many succeeding writers. Argall was not governor of Virginia before 1617, nor did he receive the honour of knighthood until a still later period. The idea of a sale of the country by Hudson to his Dutch employers, is too absurd to require contradiction.

Argall made several voyages to the colony in command of a ship belonging to the Virginia Company. It appears from a letter addressed by him to a friend in England, dated June, 1613, that he had arrived in the preceding year; and in the spring of that year, he was employed in exploring the eastern side of Chesapeake bay in a shallop. During this time, his ship was left to be got ready for a fishing voyage, and on his return, May 12, 1613, he completed his preparations, and at the date of his letter was about sailing on his intended voyage. He says,

"Thus having put my ship in hand to be fitted for an intended fishing voyage, I left that business to be followed by my master, with a ginge (gang) of men, and my lieutenant fortified on shore, with another ginge to fell timber and cleave planks, to build a fishing boat; my ensign, with another ginge, was employed in the frigate* for getting of fish at Cape Charles, and transporting it to Henry's town, for the relief of such men as were there; and myself, with a fourth ginge, departed out of the river in my shallop, the first of May, for to discover the east side of our bay, which I found to have many small rivers in it, and very good harbours for boats and barges, but not for ships of any great burthen. * * * So having discovered along the shore, some forty leagues northward, I returned again to my ship the 12th May, and hasted forward my business left in hand at my departure; and fitted up my ship, and built my fishing boat, and made ready to take the first opportunity of the wind for my fishing voyage, of which I beseech God of his mercy to bless us."†

A contemporary French author, Champlain, (the founder of Quebec,) states that the English of Virginia were accustomed at that period to pursue the cod fishery sixteen leagues from the island of *Monts Déserts*,‡ and that a party arrived there for that purpose in the year 1613, commanded by *Samuel Argall*, who being overtaken by a storm were driven on shore

* Small light vessels were then termed *frigates*, the present use of the word being of more recent origin.

† *Pilgrims*, l. ix. c. 9.

‡ A large and lofty island on the coast of Maine, a few miles east of Penobscot bay, still called *Mount Desert*. It is well settled and contains two towns, named *Eden* and *Mount Desert*.

near Pemptegoët.* Here they were told by the Indians that a French ship was at the island of Monts Déserts, whereupon Argall, being in want of provisions, and his men in a shattered, half-naked condition, resolved after ascertaining the strength of the intruders to attack them. The French seeing a ship approaching under full sail, and discovering it to be an armed Englishman, without being aware that ten others were following, prepared to defend themselves. After a short resistance, being overpowered by a superior force, the French yielded, with the loss of a Jesuit father, Gilbert du Thet, who was killed by a musket ball. Several others were wounded, and all but five were made prisoners. The English then took possession of the French ship, and plundered it of whatever they could find, not excepting the commission from the king of France which the commander, La Saussaye, had in his cabin.

Such is the statement of Champlain. Another French writer of the same period, Lescarbot, relates the affair in a manner less favourable to his countrymen. He says that the French vessel having recently arrived at Pemptegoët, information was given by the natives to some Englishmen who happened to be on the coast, and that the latter going to ascertain whether it was friend or foe, Gilbert du Thet, the Jesuit, on discovering them, cried out, "*Arm, arm; it is the English!*" and thereupon opened a fire upon them, which was vigorously returned, and with such effect that the English, having killed three persons, (of which number was Gilbert du Thet,) and wounded five, boarded the ship, and having plundered it, landed upon the island, where they met with no resistance. The French commander who was on shore at the time of the attack, had fled with fourteen of his men to a remote part of the island, but the next day came and surrendered himself on receiving an assurance of safety. On being required to show the commission under which he sailed, he failed to produce it, and the English therefore adjudged him to be a pirate, and caused his effects to be distributed among the soldiers. The English captain, continues Lescarbot, was named Samuel Argall, and his lieutenant, William Turnel. Having put the greater part of the prisoners on board a fishing vessel, and set them at liberty, Argall returned to Virginia, taking with him three Jesuit priests, and fifteen other persons, among whom are named *le Capitaine de marine*, Charles Fleuri d'Abbeville, and M. La Motte.†

* The French name for the Penobscot. Champlain, *Voyages de la Nouvelle France*, 105. (Ed. 1632.)

† Hist. de la Nouvelle France, par Marc Lescarbot, *Avocat en Parlement, et témoin oculaire d'une partie des choses ici recitées*. Paris, 1618. L. v. c. 13. This writer was no friend of the Jesuits.

The party thus summarily dispersed by Argall, had left France for the purpose of establishing a colony within the limits of Acadia, under the auspices of the Jesuits, at the expense of Madame de Guercheville, a wealthy French lady, who was zealous for the conversion of the American natives to christianity. They had arrived at La Heve, a port in Nova-Scotia, on the 16th of May, 1613, and proceeded from thence to Port Royal, where they took on board two Jesuit missionaries who had incurred the displeasure of Biencourt, the governor of that colony. Leaving Port Royal, they went to the island of *Monts Déserts*, where they resolved to fix their settlement. The pilot conducted them to the east end of the island, where they set up a cross, celebrated mass, and named the place *St. Sauveur*. Scarcely, says Champlain, had they begun to provide themselves with accommodations in this retreat, and to clear the land for the purpose of improvement, when the English came, and frustrated their benevolent designs in the manner already described. "The cross around which the faithful had gathered was thrown down,"* and the liberal supplies which they had brought from France for the intended colony, the offerings of pious zeal, were plundered, and carried away to minister to the wants of the English heretics in Virginia.

The success of Argall, and the relief afforded by the booty he brought home to a starving colony, stimulated the authorities of Virginia to a fresh enterprise against their French neighbours, under the pretext of defending the English title to the country founded on the discovery of the Cabots. The settlements of *St. Croix* and *Port Royal* were commenced before the English had planted a single permanent colony in any part of the new world, although more than a century had elapsed since the discovery on which they based their claims to the whole North American continent north of Florida. To follow up the plunder and destruction of *St. Sauveur* by an immediate attack upon those places, was the policy of the Virginia government, and an armed expedition, consisting of three vessels, commanded by Argall, sailed forthwith for Acadia. Touching at the scene of their late outrage on the island of *Monts Déserts*, they set up there a cross bearing the name of the king of Great Britain, instead of the one erected by the Jesuits; and then sailed to *St. Croix*, where they destroyed all the remains of a former settlement. Crossing the bay of Fundy, they next landed at *Port Royal*, (now *Annapolis*, Nova-Scotia,) and finding the town deserted, the governor being absent, and the people at work several miles from the fort, they met with no resistance in pillaging and stripping the place of whatever it con-

* Bancroft, i. 148.

tained, loading their ships with the spoil, and destroying what they could not carry away. The settlement had existed eight or nine years, and had cost its founders more than one hundred thousand crowns in money, beside the labour and anxiety that necessarily attended their efforts to plant civilization upon a desolate coast.

At the time of its destruction, Port Royal was under the government of Charles de Biencourt, as vice-admiral and lieutenant-general of New-France, whose unkindness to the Jesuit missionaries excited their enmity to such a degree that they were accused of having piloted the English expedition on this occasion. The charge is denied by Champlain, but countenanced by Lescarbot, who publishes at length the formal complaint of the Sieur de Poutrincourt, (one of the founders of the colony and the father of Biencourt,) addressed to a French admiralty court, in which he distinctly charges Biart, one of the priests who accompanied Captain Argall to Virginia, with having plotted the destruction of Port Royal. This document is dated July 18, 1614; and an answer was put in by the accused two years after. Without entering into the merits of the controversy, it is sufficient for our purpose to refer to it as establishing the dates of the events described by the complainant. Poutrincourt says, that he left Rochelle on the last day of the preceding December, [1613,] in a vessel of seventy tons or thereabout, for Port Royal, where he arrived on the seventeenth of March, and was informed by his son Biencourt, the lieutenant-general of New-France, that the governor of Virginia had sent thither a ship of two or three hundred tons, another of one hundred tons or thereabout, and a large bark, with a number of men, who, on the day of the feast of Allsaints last, [the 1st of November, 1613,] landed, and under the guidance of the said Biart, plundered the habitations of himself and the other French people who abode there, &c.*

In was on his return from the last expedition, that Argall is stated by the English writers to have visited the Dutch settlement at the mouth of the Hudson; and as, according to both Champlain and Lescarbot, he left Port Royal on the ninth of November, he probably arrived here during the same month. The three vessels composing the expedition sailed together from Port Royal, but a violent storm soon after dispersed them; the bark was never again heard from; the ship containing the Jesuits arrived in England by the way of the Azores,

* Lescarbot, iv. c. 14. Champlain says the English compelled an Indian to act as their guide, the French declining the service. l. iii. c. 1. Charlevoix, himself a jesuit, does not allude to the charges against Biart, but on the other hand describes him as a model of apostolic sanctity, healing the sick by miraculous power, &c. *Nouv. France*, i. 134.

while Argall reached Virginia in safety. It is not improbable that the latter was compelled to make our harbour by stress of weather, and unexpectedly discovered the small establishment of the Dutch merchants upon Manhattan Island. Unable to resist a large armed ship, it is not strange that Hendrick Christiaens, or whoever had the direction of affairs, endeavoured to propitiate the insolent and rapacious Englishman, flushed with conquests made in time of peace, over infant colonies yet struggling into existence, and promised all that was desired of him.* It is said that the former, not only "submitted himself and colony to the King of England, and to the governor of Virginia under him," but agreed also to pay an annual tribute as an acknowledgment of the English title. But information having been sent to Holland, after the departure of Argall, another superintendent arrived the following year, who refused to pay the tribute, and "*also began to fortify and put himself into a posture of defence;*" and it is added, that "the claim of the English being either wholly waived for the present, or but faintly pursued, they [the Dutch] the same year made a firm settlement, which soon became very flourishing and populous."†

It thus indisputably appears, that, in 1613, four years only after the discovery of the river by Hudson, a few houses had been erected on Manhattan Island, the germ of the present city of New-York. Alarmed by the threats of their English visitors in that year, the Dutch merchants took immediate measures to protect their trade by building forts, both at that place, and on Castle Island, near Albany, in 1614 or 1615, as already related. A few years later, in 1623, the sites of the forts appeared to have been changed. Fort Amsterdam was then erected near the ground now known as the Battery, on the southern extremity of Manhattan Island; and Fort Orange was built on the main land, within the limits of the present city of Albany. Notwithstanding the formidable pretensions of the English colonists of Virginia, no subsequent attempt was made from that quarter to reduce the Dutch settlements under their jurisdiction; but a commercial intercourse sprang up between the two colonies, that proved equally advantageous to both.

EDITOR.

* During the short time that Captain Argall was Deputy-Governor of Virginia, he contrived by fraud and extortion to amass considerable wealth, at the expense of the colony, and rendered his government generally odious by tyrannical and oppressive conduct. Stith. 150.

† Stith. 133.

X.

LETTER

OF

THOMAS DERMER,

DESCRIBING

HIS PASSAGE FROM MAINE TO VIRGINIA,

A. D. 1619.

FROM PURCHAS'S PILGRIMS,

LONDON: 1623

NOTE

THE author of the following Letter is noticed in Holmes's Annals, a work of high reputation for historical accuracy, in the following manner:—

"A. D. 1619. Thomas Dermer, employed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges on a fishing voyage to New England, loaded a ship of two hundred tons with fish and furs at Monahiggon, and despatched it for England. Proceeding in a small bark for Virginia, he sailed between the main land and Long Island, and was the first person who ascertained this to be an island."

Prince, in reference to the same navigator, had previously said, that he "steered along the coast between Long Island and the main, being the first who passes through and finds it to be an island thirty leagues in length, before accounted part of the main: thence sails along the coast, arrives at Cape Charles Sept. 7, and next day at the mouth of James river."*

Monahiggon, or, as the name is now written, *Monhegan*, is an island on the coast of Maine, a few leagues east of Kennebec river, to which the English resorted as a fishing station before the settlement of the country. Dermer sailed from thence along the coast to Virginia in an open boat, in the summer of 1619; and had it been stated by the learned authors above cited, that he was the first *Englishman* who passed through Long Island Sound, and ascertained that Long Island *was not a part of the main, as his countrymen had previously supposed*, there would have been some ground for the assertion. But the Dutch navigators, as we have seen, had fully explored the Sound several years before, and sailed on all sides of Long Island.

Dermer's trip was nevertheless an important link in the chain of discovery, as it made known to the friends of American colonization in England many parts of the American coast that had escaped

* New England Chronology. Boston, 1736. p. 64. Dr. Belknap is more cautious in speaking of this matter, merely stating that Dermer is said to have been the first, &c. Am. Biog. i. 362.

previous navigators among their countrymen. He seems to have been in the employment of the Plymouth Company, chartered by King James in 1606, which afterwards assumed the title of the "*Council established at Plymouth in Devonshire, for the planting, ruling and governing of New England in America.*" In a sort of manifesto published by this company in 1622, setting forth their operations from the year 1607 to that date, they mention that Dermer was despatched by them in a ship sent to New England "for the fishing business," and that "leaving the fishermen to their labour [at Monhegan], he coasted the shore from thence, searching every harbour, and compassing every cape-land till he arrived in Virginia." They go on to state that he hoped to obtain some supplies there from a vessel sent out by the company to meet him, "as also to lay a deck upon his pinnace that before had not any, and he was now taught by experience the necessity of having that defect supplied." After despatching his business in Virginia, Dermer "put himself to sea again, resolving to accomplish in his journey back to New England what in his last discovery he had omitted. *In his passage he met with certain Hollanders, who had a trade in Hudson's river some years before that time*, with whom he had a conference about the state of that coast, and their proceedings with those people, whose answer gave him good content. He betook himself to the following of his business, discovering many goodly rivers, and exceeding pleasant and fruitful coasts and islands, for the space of eighty leagues from east to west; for so that coast doth range along from Hudson river to Cape James," [meaning Cape Cod].*

It thus appears that Dermer was considered by the Council of Plymouth as the original discoverer of the coasts lying between our river and the southern shore of Massachusetts, on the route of Long Island Sound. The following Letter contains a brief description of his passage to Virginia, but not of his return, as it was written soon after his arrival in that colony, at the plantation of

* The publication above quoted is entitled, "A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England, and of sundry accidents therein occurring, from the year of our Lord 1607 to this present 1622," &c. Dedicated by the President and Council of New England to the Prince's Highness. It is reprinted entire in Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. i. 3d series.

Capt. John Martyn.* But it appears that in the following summer, after his return to New England, Dermer wrote another letter, dated June 30th, 1620, in which he described more particularly the results of his observations. Of this we have only a few extracts, contained in an early history of the Plymouth Colony, the author of which was a nephew of Governor Bradford, and had access to all his papers, consisting of a manuscript history of the colony, now unfortunately lost, and various other documents relating to the discovery and settlement of the country. Among these was Dermer's second letter, of which this writer gives the date, and adds that Dermer was at Plymouth in the same year that the Pilgrims arrived, "as appears by a relation written by him, bearing date June 30, Anno 1620, and they arrived in the country in the month of November following, so that there was but four months difference; in which relation to his honoured friend he hath these passages of this very place where New Plymouth now is."† The author then goes on to cite portions of Dermer's letter descriptive of the place where the Pilgrims soon after established their colony, called by the Indians *Patuxet*, but named by Capt. Smith, on his map of New England published in 1614, *Plymouth*—"one of the few names," says the learned editor of Morton, "given by that distinguished adventurer which remains unchanged." It is not a little remarkable that in this letter Dermer recommends this place for "the first plantation, if there come to the number of fifty persons or upwards," and within five months after the date of the letter, the Pilgrims, landing fortuitously on the coast, selected the same spot as a suitable location for their colony.

It is probable that the second letter of Dermer was addressed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, an active and efficient member of the Council of Plymouth, and a special patron of the enterprise in which he was engaged. Gorges says that Dermer sent him "a journal of his proceeding, with the description of the coast all along as he

* Martyn had the charge of one hundred colonists in the country of the Nansemonds, on the south side of James River. Purchas, l. ix. c. 6.

† "New England's Memorial," &c., by Nathaniel Morton. Cambridge, N. E., 1669. A new edition was published a few years ago under the care of Judge Davis, of Boston, who has enriched it with many valuable notes and illustrations.

passed."* The object of his voyage may be understood from the following statement.

It appears that an Englishman of the name of Hunt, who commanded one of the ships with which Capt. Smith came to New England in 1614, remained on the coast after Smith's departure, and succeeded in kidnapping a number of Indians, chiefly from Patuxet, afterwards Plymouth, whom he carried to Malaga, in Spain, and endeavoured to sell for slaves. As soon, however, as the circumstances became known, a sympathy was excited in behalf of the unfortunate captives, and through the benevolent efforts of the monks of that city, many of them were rescued from slavery, and found their way back to their native forests. Among them is said to have been a chief named Tisquantum, or as more commonly written, *Squanto*, who reached London, where he was received by a merchant of the Newfoundland company, and sent out to that island. There he was noticed by Capt. Mason, the governor of the colony, with whom he remained until, on the arrival of Dermer, he returned with him to England.

The outrage of Hunt had excited a general distrust of Europeans among the natives of New England, and it occurred to Dermer that the services of Squanto might be profitably employed in removing the prejudice from the minds of his countrymen. He wrote to this effect to the Plymouth Company, who at once entered into his views, and the following season despatched Capt. Rocrافت to meet him in New England. But Dermer had in the meantime sailed for England, taking Squanto with him; and the Company, desirous of availing themselves of his aid in conciliating the Indians, fitted out another ship for a fishing voyage, in which they sent him and Squanto to New England with the hope of their meeting Rocrافت. But on their arrival at Monhegan, not finding him, Dermer took a pinnace, and left the fishermen to pursue their business, while he sought the native country of his savage companion. His subsequent adventures, until his arrival in Virginia, are briefly related in the following Letter. The result of his mission appears to have been quite satisfactory to his employers, who in their published manifesto gave him the credit of making peace between the savages of

* "A brief Narration of the original undertakings of the advancement of Plantations into the parts of America, &c. Written by the Worshipful Sir F. Gorges, Knight, &c. London, 1658." Reprinted in Mass. Hist. Coll. vi. 3d series.

those parts and the English, of which, it was intimated, the colony of New Plymouth afterwards reaped the benefit.

There seems to have been, however, another object which Dermer proposed to himself in undertaking this voyage. A few years before an Indian named Epinow, belonging to Martha's Vineyard, who had been forcibly carried to Europe, came into the possession of Gorges, and induced him to believe that there was a valuable mine in his country, which he would discover if sent home. A ship was accordingly fitted out for the voyage, and sailed with Epinow and two other Indians, in the summer of 1614. But it was a mere *ruse* on the part of the wily savage to effect his return, and soon after their arrival in New England he contrived to make his escape from the ship. Notwithstanding what had occurred, Gorges seems not to have doubted the truth of the story, imagining that Epinow feared the consequences of betraying "the secrets of the country;" and when Dermer proposed to him to employ Squanto, he consented without doubt for the purpose of again endeavouring to discover the hidden treasure. Some hints of the kind are given in the following Letter.

The prevalence of a mortal disease among the natives of New England by which the country within certain limits was almost entirely depopulated, is often alluded to in the accounts of that period. It is supposed to have commenced its ravages about the year 1616, and to have continued for two or three years. Dermer calls it the *plague*, from its desolating effects, but writers seem not to agree as to the character of the disease. What must have been the emotions of the savage chief on arriving at his native place, and finding his people utterly extinct—kindred, friends, the companions of his youth, all gone, and not a solitary survivor left with whom he could condole in the general calamity—not one to greet him upon his return from a long captivity in a far distant land! The sequel of the story of this Indian belongs to the history of the Plymouth colony. The imperfect knowledge he had acquired of the English language was sufficient to enable him to act the part of interpreter with the neighbouring tribes, and his familiarity with the country rendered him an excellent guide in threading the mazes of the wilderness. His services thus became of great importance to the colony, and his name often occurs in the simple narratives of their early struggles with the disadvantages of their situation.

Dermer did not long survive his last visit to New England. Visiting Martha's Vineyard, he there met with Epinow, who at first entertained him with an amusing account of the means by which he had effected his escape, but afterwards suspecting that the Englishman had come for the purpose of betraying him, he conspired with some of his nation to make him a prisoner. "Thereupon," says Sir Ferdinando Gorges, "they laid hands upon him, but he being a brave, stout gentleman, drew his sword and freed himself, but not without fourteen wounds." This encounter caused Dermer's speedy return to Virginia, where he died soon after, from the effects of his wounds, as stated by Smith,* but according to Sir F. Gorges, "he had the misfortune to fall sick and die of the infirmity many of our nation are subject unto at their first coming into those parts."

EDITOR.

* Hist. Virginia, ii. 219.

LETTER, &c.

TO HIS WORSHIPFUL FRIEND, M. SAMUEL PURCHAS,

PREACHER OF THE WORD,

AT THE CHURCH A LITTLE WITHIN LUDGATE, LONDON.*

It was the nineteenth of May before I was fitted for my discovery, when from Monahiggan I set sail in an open pinnace of five tons for the island I told you of. I passed along the coast where I found some ancient plantations, not long since populous, now utterly void ; in other places a remnant remains, but not free of sickness. Their disease is the plague, for we might perceive the sores of some that had escaped, who described the spots of such as usually die. When I arrived at my savage's native country, finding all dead, I travelled a long day's journey westward, to a place called *Nummastaquyt*,† where finding inhabitants, I despatched a messenger a day's journey farther west to *Poconaokit*,‡ which bordereth on the sea ; whence came to see me two kings, attended with a guard of fifty men, who being well satisfied with what my savage and I discoursed unto them, (being desirous of novelty,) gave me content in whatsoever I demanded, where I found that former relations were true.

Here I redeemed a Frenchman, and afterwards another at *Mastachusit*, who three years since escaped shipwreck at the north-east of Cape Cod. I must [be brief] (amongst many things worthy observation) for want of leisure ; therefore hence I pass (not mentioning any place where we touched in the way) to the island which we discovered the twelfth of June. Here we had good quarter with the savages, who likewise confirmed former reports. I found seven several places digged, sent some of the earth, with samples of other commodities elsewhere found, sounded the coast, and the time being far spent, bore up for Monahiggan, arriving the three and twentieth of June, where

* Purchas was rector of St. Martin's church, Ludgate, London, and chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury.

† The native place of Squanto was *Patuzet*, afterwards Plymouth. *Nummastaquyt*, commonly written *Namasket*, was an Indian settlement in the present town of Middleborough, about fifteen miles west of Plymouth.

‡ Commonly written *Pokanoket*, now included in the town of Bristol, Rhode Island, about forty miles from Plymouth. Massassoit, chief of the Wampanoags, for many years the unshaken friend of the Pilgrims, resided at this place. The 'two kings' with whom Dermer had the interview, are supposed to have been Massassoit and his brother.

we found ship ready to depart. To this isle are two others near adjoining, all which I called by the name of King James's Isles, because from thence I had the first motives to search for that (now probable passage) which may hereafter be both honourable and profitable to his Majesty.

When I had despatched with the ships ready to depart, I thus concluded for the accomplishing my business. In regard of the fewness of my men, not being able to leave behind me a competent number for defence, and yet sufficiently furnish myself, I put most of my provisions aboard the Sampson of Capt. Ward, ready bound for Virginia, from whence he came, taking no more into the pinnace than I thought might serve our turns, determining, with God's help, to search the coast along, and at Virginia to supply ourselves for a second discovery if the first failed. But as the best actions are commonly hardest in effecting, and are seldom without their crosses, so in this we had our share, and met with many difficulties; for we had not sailed above forty leagues but we were taken with a southerly storm, which drove us to this strait, either we must weather a rocky point of land, or run into a broad bay not less dangerous. *Incident in Scyllam, &c.* The rocks we could not weather, though we loosed till we received much water, but at last were forced to bear up for the bay, and run on ground a furlong off the shore, where we had been beaten to pieces had we not instantly thrown overboard our provisions to save our lives, by which means we escaped and brought off our pinnace the next high water without hurt, having our plank broken, and a small leak or two which we easily mended. Being left in this misery, having lost much bread, all our beef and cider, some meal and apparel, with other provisions and necessities, having now little left but hope to encourage us to persist; yet, after a little deliberation, we resolved to proceed, and departed with the next fair wind.

We had not now that fair quarter among the savages as before, which I take it was by reason of our savage's absence, who desired (in regard of our long journey) to stay with some of our savage friends at *Sawahquatooke*,* for now almost everywhere, where they were of any strength, they sought to betray us. At *Manamock*, (the southern part of Cape Cod, now called Sutcliffe's Inlets,) I was unawares taken prisoner, when they sought to kill my men whom I left to man the pinnace; but missing of their purpose, they demanded a ransom, which had, I was as far from liberty as before; yet it pleased God at last, after a strange manner, to deliver me, with three of them into

* An Indian settlement in the present town of Brewster, on the peninsula of Cape Cod.

my hands, and a little after the chief sachem himself, who seeing me weigh anchor, would have leaped overboard, but intercepted, craved pardon, and sent for the hatchets given for ransom, excusing himself by laying the fault on his neighbours; and to be friends, sent for a canoe's lading of corn, which received we set him free. I am loth to omit the story, wherein you will find a cause to admire the great mercy of God even in our greatest misery, in giving us both freedom and relief at one time.

Departing hence, the next place we arrived at was *Capaock* [Martha's Vineyard], an island formerly discovered by the English, when I met with *Epinow*, a savage that had lived in England, and speaks indifferent good English, who four years since, being carried home, was reported to have been slain with divers of his countrymen by sailors, which was false. With him I had much conference, who gave me very good satisfaction in every thing almost I could demand. Time not permitting me to search here, which I should have done for sundry things of special moment, the wind fair, I stood away, shaping my course as the coast led me, till I came to the most westerly part, where the coast began to fall away southerly.

In my way I discovered land about thirty leagues in length, heretofore taken for main, where I feared I had been embayed, but by the help of an Indian I got to the sea again, through many crooked and straight passages. I let pass many accidents in this journey occasioned by treachery, where we were compelled twice to go together by the ears; once the savages had great advantage of us in a strait, not above a bowshot, and where a multitude of Indians let fly at us from the bank; but it pleased God to make us victors. Near unto this we found a most dangerous cataract amongst small rocky islands, occasioned by two unequal tides, the one ebbing and flowing two hours before the other.* Here we lost an anchor by the strength of the current, but found it deep enough. From hence were we carried in a short space by the tide's swiftness into a great bay, (to us so appearing,) but indeed is broken land, which gave us light of the sea. Here, as I said, the land trendeth southerly. In this place I talked with many savages, who told me of two sundry passages to the great sea on the west, offered me pilots, and one of them drew me a plat with chalk upon a chest, whereby I found it a great island, parted by the two seas. They report the one scarce passable for shoals, perilous currents; the other no question to be made of.

Having received these directions, I hasten to the place of greatest hope, where I proposed to make trial of God's good-

* Probably *Hellgate*.

ness towards us, and use my best endeavours to bring the truth to light ; but we were but only showed the entrance, when in seeking to pass, we were forced back with contrary and overblowing winds, hardly escaping both [with] our lives. Being thus overcharged with weather, I stood along the coast to seek harbours, to attend a favourable gale to recover the strait ; but being a harbourless coast, for aught we could then perceive, we found no succour till we arrived betwixt Cape Charles and the main, on the east side of the bay *Chestapeak*, where in a wilde (*wide* ?) road we anchored ; and the next day, (the eighth of September) crossed the bay to *Kecoughtan*, where the first news struck cold to our hearts—the general sickness was over the land.

Here I resolved with all possible speed to return in pursuit of this business, so that after a little refreshing, we recovered up the river to James city, and from thence to Capt. Ward's plantation, where immediately we fell to hewing of boards for a close deck, having found it a most desired course to attempt as before. As we were thus labouring to effect our purposes, it pleased Almighty God, (who only disposeth of the times and seasons wherein all works shall be accomplished,) to visit us with his heavy hand, so that at one time there were but two of us able to help the rest ; myself so sore shaken with a burning fever, that I was brought even unto death's door, but at length, by God's assistance, escaped, and have now with the rest almost recovered my former strength. The winter having overtaken us, (a time on these coasts especially subject to gusts and fearful storms,) I have now resolved to choose a more temperate season, both for the general good and our own safeties.

And thus I have sent you a broken discourse, though indeed very unwilling to have given any notice at all, till it had pleased God to have b'essed me with a thorough search, that our eyes might have witnessed the truth. I have drawn a plot of the coast, which I dare not yet to part with for fear of danger ; let this therefore serve for confirmation of your hopes, till I can better perform my promise and your desire. For what I have spoken I can produce at least *mille testes*, (a thousand witnesses,) far separate, of the sea behind them, and of ships, which came many days' journey from the west, and of the great extent of this sea to the north and south, not knowing any bounds thereof westward. I cease to trouble you till a better opportunity offer itself, remembering my best love, &c. I rest yours to command,

THOMAS DERMER.

From Captain Martyn's Plantation,
27th December, 1619.

The following extract from the Brief Narration of Sir F. Gorges, quoted above, shows his connexion with Dermer. Gorges acted on behalf of the Council, by whom Dermer was employed.

"Captain Dermer being disappointed of his means to come from New-found-land to New England, took shipping for England, and came to me at Plymouth [1619], where I gave him an account of what I had done, and he me of what his hopes were to be able to do me service, if I pleased to employ him. — Hereupon I conferred his informations together with mine own I received by several ways, and found them to agree in many particulars of highest consequence and best considerations. Whereupon I despatched him away with the company he had gotten together, as fast as my own ship could be made ready for her ordinary employment, sending with him what he thought necessary, hoping to have met Captain Rocraft, where he was assigned to attend till he received further directions from me. But at the ship's arrival, they found Captain Rocraft gone for Virginia, with all his company, in the barque he had taken, of which before. Captain Dermer arriving, and seeing Rocraft gone, was much perplexed. Yet so resolved he was, that he ceased not to follow his design with the men and means which I had sent him; and so shaped his course from Sagadahock in forty-four degrees, to Capawike, [Martha's Vineyard,] being in $41^{\circ} 36'$, sending me a journal of his proceeding, with the description of the coast all along as he passed. Passing by Capawike, he continued his course along the coast from harbour to harbour till he came to Virginia, where he expected to meet with Rocraft." Chap. xv.

SMITH has the following notice of him :—"Master Thomas Dermer, an understanding and industrious gentleman, that was also with me amongst the Frenchmen, having lived about a year in Newfoundland, returned to Plymouth, (Eng.) went for New England in this ship, and so much approved of this country that he staid there with five or six men in a little boat; finding two or three Frenchmen among the savages, who had lost their ship, augmented his company, with whom he ranged the coast to Virginia, where he was kindly welcomed and well refreshed; thence returned to New England again, where having been a year, in his back return to Virginia he was so wounded by the savages that he died upon it."—*Hist. Virg.* ii. 219.

XI.

CORRESPONDENCE
BETWEEN THE COLONIES
OF
NEW NETHERLANDS AND NEW-PLYMOUTH,
A. D. 1627.

FROM THE LETTER-BOOK OF WILLIAM BRADFORD,
Governor of New-Plymouth, &c.

NOTE.

These interesting documents were first published in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1794. They formed a part of Gov. Bradford's Papers, most of which are supposed to have been destroyed at Boston during the revolutionary war. They had been in the possession of the Rev. Thomas Prince, (author of the New England Chronology,) by whom they were deposited with his library in the tower of the Old South Church, where they were found by the British soldiers who had converted the church into a riding school, and scattered to the winds. A portion of the Governor's letter-book, including the following correspondence, was afterwards discovered in a grocer's shop at Halifax, (Nova-Scotia,) used for wrapping paper, but some one suspecting its value caused it to be preserved.*

Prince has the following extract from another portion of Governor Bradford's papers in reference to the overtures of the Dutch. Under the year 1627, Bradford says—"About mid March we received messengers from the governor of the Dutch plantation, with letters written in Dutch and French, dated from the Manhattas in the Fort Amsterdam, March 9, 1627, N. S., signed "Isaac de Razier, Secretary.' They had traded in these northern parts divers years before we came, but began no plantation there till four or five years after our coming. In their letter 'they congratulate us and our prosperous and praiseworthy undertaking, and government of our colony, with the presentation of their good will and service to us in all friendly kindness and good neighbourhood; offer us any of their goods that may be serviceable to us, declare they shall take themselves bound to accommodate and help us with them, for any wares we are pleased to deal for'. We send the Dutch our obliging answer, *expressive of our thankful sense of the kindness we received in their native country, and our grateful acceptance of their offered friendship.*"†

* MS. letter to the editor from Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, D.D. of Boston:

† New England Chronology. A. D. 1627.

Governor Bradford here alludes to the hospitable asylum afforded to the Pilgrims in Holland, when compelled to fly from the intolerant bigotry of their native land. His expressions of gratitude are in unison with the sincerity and excellence of his character, which combined the virtues of the Christian with a spirit of true courtesy; and it is not strange that the harmonious relations thus happily commenced between the two colonies, continued for many years to their mutual advantage.

In another place he says, "This year* the Dutch send to us again from their plantation both kind letters and divers commodities, as sugar, linen, stuffs, &c., and come with their bark at our house at Manomet. Their Secretary Razier comes with trumpeters, &c., but not being able to travel to us by land, desires us to send a boat within side to fetch him; so we send a boat to Manonscusset, and bring him with the chief of his company to Plymouth. After a few days' entertainment, he returns to his bark; some of us go with him and buy sundry goods. After which beginning they often send to the same place, and we trade together divers years, sell much tobacco for linens, and stuffs, &c. which proves a great benefit to us till the Virginians find out their colony. But that which in time turns most to our advantage is their now acquainting and entering us in the trade of *wampum*, telling us how vendible it is at their Fort Aurania, and persuading us we shall find it so at Kennebeck. Upon this we buy £50 worth. At first it sticks, and it is two years before we can put it off, till the inland Indians come to know it, and then we can scarce procure enough for many years together. By which and other provisions we quite cut off the trade both from the fishermen and straggling planters. And strange it is to see the great alteration it in a few years makes among the savages; for the *Massachusetts* and others in these parts had scarce any, it being only made and kept among

* *New England Chronology*, A. D. 1628. *Prince* here mistakes the year, as may be readily seen from the correspondence. This circumstance leads us to suppose that the letter-book was not in his possession when he wrote, especially as it is not specified in the list of MSS. prefixed to the volume. The extracts above quoted were without doubt taken from a history of Plymouth Colony written by Governor Bradford, but never published, which *Prince* mentions among his MS. authorities. It is deeply to be regretted that a work of so much interest was not printed; it is now probably lost.

the *Pequots* and *Narragansetts*, who grew rich and potent by it; whereas the rest who use it not, are poor and beggarly.”*

The Plymouth trading-house at Manomet to which the Dutch resorted, was situated near an Indian village, at the head of Buzzard's bay. It lay about twenty miles south of Plymouth, but being on the narrowest part of the isthmus connecting the peninsula of Cape Cod with the main, it was accessible by water from that place within four or five miles. The village of Monumet, in the town of Sandwich, now occupies nearly the same site. Bradford describes it as follows:—“For greater convenience of trade, to discharge our engagements and maintain ourselves, we build a small pinnace at Manomet, a place on the sea, twenty miles to the south; to which by another creek on this side we transport our goods by water within four or five miles, and then carry them over land to the vessel. We thereby avoid compassing Cape Cod with those dangerous shoals, and make our voyage to the southward with far less time and hazard. For the safety of our vessel and goods we there also build a house and keep some servants, who plant corn, rear swine, and are always ready to go out with the bark, which takes good effect and turns to advantage.”† Another Plymouth writer says that the governor went to the Indian town of Manomet, in January, 1623, to buy corn, and that the town was situated on a fresh river, to which “the Dutch or French, or both used to come.”‡

* *Roger Williams* (Key into the language of the Indians, Lond. 1643,) describes the manner in which the wampum was made, and speaks of it as “the coin of the Indians”; the Dutch called it *seawen*. Williams adds, “This money the English, French, and Dutch trade to the Indians six hundred miles in several parts, north and south from New-England, for their furs and whatever they stand in need of from them, as corn, venison, &c.” Burnaby, who travelled in this country in 1760, had an opportunity of seeing the method of making wampum, which he describes as follows:—“It is made of the clam-shell, consisting within of two colours, purple and white, and in form not unlike a thick oyster shell. The process of manufacturing it is very simple. It is first clipped to a proper size, which is that of a small oblong paralleliped, then drilled, and afterwards ground to a round smooth surface, and polished. The purple wampum is much more valuable than the white, a very small part of the shell being of that colour.” *Travels*, p. 60.

† Prince. 67.

‡ Winslow's Relation.

The portage across the isthmus was considerably shortened by two small streams, running in opposite directions, one of which, called Manonscusset creek, flowed into the bay on the east side of the isthmus; the other was an arm of Buzzard's bay, and received the name of Manomet river from its superior width. The heads of the creek and river were not far distant.*

It is to be regretted that the first letter from the Dutch was not printed with the rest, as Gov. Bradford had evidently copied it into his letter-book in the original language. We have made inquiry respecting it without being able to obtain a copy; the manuscript seems not to have been preserved by the Society after the correspondence was published.

EDITOR.

* Prince says, "This is the place through which there has been a talk of making a canal this forty years, which would be a vast advantage to all these countries by saving the long and dangerous navigation round the Cape and through the shoals adjoining." This was in 1736. The project was revived in 1776, and again in 1791, when it was referred to a committee of the Legislature, who reported favourably. The latest notice we have seen of it, is in a publication of 1839; in which the writer states that "it is proposed to unite Massachusetts and Buzzard's bays by a ship canal through the town of Sandwich. The distance is five miles and the route level."

CORRESPONDENCE, &c.

This year [says Bradford] we had letters sent us from the Dutch plantation, of whom we had heard much by the natives, but never could hear from them nor meet with them before they themselves thus wrote to us, and after sought us out; their letters were written in a very fair hand, the one in French, and the other in Dutch, but were one *verbatim*, so far as the tongue would bear.

[*Here follows a letter in Low Dutch, from Isaac de Razier at Manhattas, in Fort Amsterdam, March 9, 1627, N. S. to the Governor of New Plymouth.**]

I will not trouble myself to translate this letter, seeing the effect of it will be understood by the answer which now follows in English, though written to them in Dutch.

To the Honourable and Worshipful the Director and Council of New Netherland, our very loving and worthy friends and Christian neighbours.

The Governor and Council of Plymouth in New England wish your Honours and Worships all happiness and prosperity in this life, and eternal rest and glory with Christ Jesus our Lord in the world to come.

We have received your letters, wherein appeareth your good will and friendship toward us, but is expressed with over high titles, and more than belongs to us, or than is meet for us to receive. But for your good will and congratulation of our prosperity in this small beginning of our poor colony, we are much bound unto you, and with many thanks acknowledge the same; taking it both for a great honour done unto us, and for a certain testimony of your love and good neighbourhood. Now these are further to give your Honours, Worships and Wisdoms to understand, that it is to us no small joy to hear, that it hath pleased God to move his Majesty's heart, not only to confirm that ancient amity, alliance, and friendship, and other contracts formerly made and ratified by his predecessors of famous memory; but hath himself (as you say) and we likewise have been informed, strengthened the same with a new union, the better

* It thus appears that the portion of the letter-book preserved contained a copy of the first letter from the Dutch, which was not printed, probably on account of its being in the Dutch language. Ed.

to resist the pride of that common enemy, the Spaniards, from whose cruelty the Lord keep us both, and our native countries. Now forasmuch as this is sufficient to unite us together in love and good neighbourhood in all our dealings; yet are many of us further tied by the good and courteous entreaty which we have found in your country, having lived there many years, with freedom and good content, as many of our friends do to this day; for which we are bound to be thankful, and our children after us, and shall never forget the same, but shall heartily desire your good and prosperity as our own forever. Likewise for your friendly proposition and offer to accommodate and help us with any commodities or merchandise which you have and we want, either for beaver, otters, or other wares, is to us very acceptable, and we doubt not but in short time we may have profitable trade and commerce together. But you may please to understand that we are but one particular colony or plantation in this land, there being divers others besides, unto whom it hath pleased those Honourable Lords of his Majesty's Council for New England to grant the like commission, and ample privileges to them (as to us) for their better profit and subsistence; namely to expulse, or make prize of any, either strangers or other English, which shall attempt either to trade or plant within their limits (without their special license and commission) which extend to forty degrees. Yet for our parts, we shall not go about to molest or trouble you in any thing, but continue all good neighbourhood and correspondence as far as we may; only we desire that you would forbear to trade with the natives in this bay, and river of Narraganset and Sowames, which is (as it were) at our doors: The which if you do, we think no other English will go about any way to trouble or hinder you; which otherwise are resolved to solicit his Majesty for redress, if otherwise they cannot help themselves.

May it please you further to understand, that for this year we are fully supplied with all necessities, both for clothing and other things; but it may so fall out, that hereafter we shall deal with you, if your rates be reasonable. And therefore when your people come again, we desire to know how you will take beaver by the pound, and otters by the skin, and how you will deal per cent. for other commodities, and what you can furnish us with; as likewise what commodities from us may be acceptable with you, as tobacco, fish, corn, or other things, and what prices you will give.

Thus hoping that you will pardon and excuse us for our rude and imperfect writing in your language, and take it in good part; because, for want of use, we cannot so well express that we understand; nor happily understand every thing so fully as we should. And so we humbly pray the Lord, for his mercy's

sake, that he will take both us and our native countries into his holy protection and defence. Amen.

By the Governor and Council, your Honour's
and Worships' very good friends and neighbours.

New-Plymouth, March 19th.

Next follows their reply to this our answer, very friendly but maintaining their right and liberty to trade in those parts, which we had desired them to forbear; alleging that as we had authority and commission from our king, so they had the like from the States of Holland, which they would defend.

August 7, 1627.

Another of theirs upon our answer to their last, which I here omit.

An answer to the former letters.

We have received your letters,* dated the 7th of August, and with them a rundlet of sugar, and two Holland cheeses, by John Jacobson of Wiring; for which we give you many thanks, and must remain your debtors till another time, not having any thing to send you for the present that may be acceptable. Further, you shall understand that it is also our resolution and hearty desire to hold and continue all friendship and good neighbourhood with you as far as we may and lies in our power; we desire also that we might have opportunity (according as you write) by word of mouth, to confer together touching our mutual commerce and trading in such things as our countries afford; and would now have sent one, but that one of our boats is abroad, and we have much business at home. But if by the next you would please to depute one (according as you have propounded) to come hither and to confer hereabouts, we should be glad, and he should be welcome: If not, we shall send as soon as conveniently we can (after harvest), if we can know when your bark comes this way. We cannot likewise omit (out of our love and good affection toward you, and the trust you repose in us) to give you warning of the danger which may befall you, that you may prevent it; for if you light either in the hands of those of Virginia or the fishing ships, which come to New England, peradventure they will make prize of you, if they can, if they find you trading within those limits; as they surprised a colony of the French not many years since, which was seated within these bounds. For howsoever you allege in your former letter, that you have navigated and traded in these parts above this twenty-six years,

* This was written in their own tongue.

and that your company have now authority from the States and the Prince of Orange to do so ; yet you must understand that her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory, hath begun to navigate and plant in these lands well nigh forty years ago, as appears by her patents and royal grants conferred upon divers of her subjects, and since confirmed and enlarged by his late Majesty, and still continued by possession. Therefore it were best (in our opinion) that your masters should solicit the States that they might come to some order and agreement with the king's Majesty and state of England hereabout, before any inconvenience befall ; for howsoever you may be assured for ourselves, yet we should be sorry to hear you should sustain harm from any of our nation ; but more of these things when we shall speak one with another. In the mean time we commit you and your affairs to the protection of the Highest.

Your loving friends, the Governor
and Council of New-Plymouth.
WILLIAM BRADFORD,
Governor, &c.

Plymouth, August 14, Anno 1627.

Their answer to this directed to myself, thus superscribed :—

Monsieur Monseigneur William Bradford, Governor Nieu-Plemeuen.

This I will put in English, and so will end with theirs, viz.

After the wishing of all good unto you, this serves to let you understand that we have received your (acceptable) letters, dated the 14th of the last month, by John Jacobson of Wiring, who besides by word of mouth hath reported unto us your kind and friendly entertainment of him : For which cause (by the good liking and approbation of the Director and Council) I am resolved to come myself in friendship to visit you, that we may by word of mouth friendly communicate of things together ; as also to report unto you the good will and favour that the Honourable Lords of the authorized West India Company bear towards you. And to show our willingness of your good accommodation, have brought with me some cloth of three sorts and colours, and a chest of white sugar, as also some *seawan*, &c., not doubting but, if any of them may be serviceable unto you, we shall agree well enough about the prices thereof. Also John Jacobson aforesaid hath told me, that he came to you over land in six hours, but I have not gone so far this three or four years ; wherefore I fear my feet will fail me, so I am constrained to entreat you to afford me the easiest means that I may, with least weariness, come to congratulate with you. So leaving other

things to the report of the bearer, shall herewith end; remembering my hearty salutations to yourself and friends, &c. From aboard the bark Nassau, the 4th of October, before Frenchman's point.

Your affectionate friend,
ISAAC DE RAZIER.

Anno 1627.

So, according to his request, we sent our boat for him, who came honourably attended with a noise of trumpeters; he was their upper *communis*, or chief merchant and second to the governor; a man of a fair and genteel behaviour, but soon after fell into disgrace amongst them, by reason of their factions; and thus at length we came to meet and deal together. We at this time bought sundry of their commodities, especially their *seawan* or *wampampeack*, which was the beginning of a profitable trade with us and the Indians. We further understood, that their masters were willing to have friendship with us, and to supply us with sundry commodities, and offered us assistance against the French, if need were. The which, though we know it was with an eye to their own profit, yet we had reason both kindly to accept it and make use of it. So after this sundry of them came often to us, and many letters passed between us, the which I will pass by as being about particular dealings, and would not be here very pertinent; only upon this passage we wrote one to their Lords and masters as followeth:—

Right Honourable and Worthy Lords, &c.

We understand by your agent, Mr. Isaac Razier, who is at this present with us (and hath demeaned himself to your Honours' and his own credit) of your honourable and respective good intentions towards us, which we humbly acknowledge with all thankfulness, and shall ever be ready in the performance of all offices of good and Christian neighbourhood towards your colony and plantation here, and in all satisfactory correspondence to your Honours, so far as in us lieth, and may stand with our allegiance to the King's most excellent Majesty, our Sovereign Lord the King of Great Britain; acknowledging ourselves tied in a strict obligation unto your country and state, for the good entertainment and free liberty which we had, and our brethren and countrymen yet there have and do enjoy, under our most honourable Lords the States; and so shall be ready to accommodate ourselves to your good satisfaction. For the propositions of your agent concerning the matter of trade and commerce, we will have due and respective consideration, wishing it had been sooner propounded at the beginning of the year, before we sent our factor into England and Holland about our trade and sup-

plies ; for, till his return, we can determine of nothing, not yet knowing certainly what issue there will be of the business between the merchants our partners, and ourselves ; and therefore desire suspension of our determination and resolution herein till next year, we being not yet altogether free in respect of our engagements unto them. In the mean time we will digest it in our best cogitations ; only we desire your Honours, that ye would take into your wise and honourable considerations, that which we conceive may be a hindrance to this accordation, and may be a means of much future evil, if it be not prevented, namely, that you clear the title of your planting in these parts, which his Majesty hath, by patent, granted to divers his nobles and subjects of quality ; lest it be a bone of division in these stirring evil times, which God forbid. We persuade ourselves that now may be easily and seasonably done, which will be harder and with more difficulty obtained hereafter, and perhaps not without blows ; so there may be assured peace and good correspondence on all parts, and ourselves more free and able to contract with your Honours. Thus commending our best service to our most noble Lords, praying for the prosperous success of your worthy designs, we rest your Lordship's

Most sincerely affected and bounden,

WILLIAM BRADFORD,

Governor, &c.

Plymouth, Oct. 1, Anno 1627.

We well knew likewise, that this dealing and friendship with the Dutch (though it was wholly sought of themselves) yet it would procure us envy from others in the land, and that at one time or other, our enemies would take occasion to raise slanders and frame accusations against us for it ; therefore, to prevent their malice, as also to show the sincerity of our dealing, and and our loyal and dutiful respect to his Majesty and the Honourable Council for New England, we sent their first letter (with our answer thereto, and their reply to the same) unto the Council, as may appear more particularly by our letters following.

A Letter to the Council of New England.

Right Honourable,

We hold it our bounden duty to inform and acquaint your Lordships and Honours, with all such occurrences and matters of note as do here befall, and may any way concern the estate of this country, in either the good or hurt thereof, which, next his Majesty, stands under your honourable governments and protection ; or which may in any sort be worthy your wise and prudent considerations. May it please your Honours and Lord-

ships to understand, that of late we received letters from the Dutch plantation, who using to trade near unto us, had order to stay for an answer from us ; and the effect of their letters being friendly and congratulatory, we answered them in like sort ; since which time we received another from them, but have had as yet no opportunity to give answer thereto. Their first letters were two,* but both one in effect and verbatim, so far as the proprieties of the tongues will bear ; the French, with the copies both of our answer and their reply, we have here enclosed sent unto your Honour's view, that according to your honourable directions therein, we may govern ourselves in our dealings with them. We further understand that for strength of men and fortification they far exceed us, and all in this land. We cannot likewise forbear to complain unto your Lordships of the irregular living of many in this land, who without either patent or license, order or government, live, trade and truck, not with any intent to plant, but rather to forage the country and get what they can, whether by right or wrong, and then be gone : So as such as have been and are at great charge to settle plantations, will not be able to subsist, if some remedy be not provided, both with these and the inordinate course of fishermen, who begin to leave fishing, and fall wholly to trading, to the great detriment of both the small beginning here, and the state of England, by the unprofitable consuming of the victuals of the land upon these savages : Whereas plantations might here better raise the same in the land, and so be enabled both to subsist and to return the profit thereof into England for other necessities, which would be beneficial to the commonwealth. Our humble suit therefore to your good Lordships is, that you would take some such order for redress herein, as shall seem best to your honourable wisdoms, for the relief of all the plantations in the land. So in all humbleness we commit ourselves to your honourable direction, and you to the protection of the Almighty, resting

Yours ever at commandment,

WILLIAM BRADFORD,

Governor, &c.

New-Plymouth, June 15, Anno 1627.

Another to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, touching the same subject.

Honourable Sir,

My humble duty remembered ; we have of late received letters from the Dutch plantation, and have had speech with some of them ; I hold it my duty to acquaint your Worship and the rest of the Honourable Council therewith, unto whom we have

* The one in French and the other in Dutch.

likewise written and sent the copies of their letters, that together with their and your honourable directions we may know how to order ourselves herein. They have used trading there this six or seven and twenty years, but have begun to plant of later time, and now have reduced their trade to some order, and confined it only to their company, which heretofore was spoiled by their seamen and interlopers, as ours is this year most notoriously, of whom we have made some complaint in our letters to the Council, not doubting but we shall find worshipful furtherance therein. We are now upon concluding with our adventurers, and shall be put upon hard straits by great payments, which we are enforced to make for sundry years, or else to leave all, which will be to us very difficult ; and, to say the truth, if these disorders of fishermen and interlopers be not remedied, no plantations are able to stand, but will decay ; whereas otherwise they may subsist and flourish. Thus in all humbleness I take leave, and rest,

At your service,

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

Plymouth, June 15, Anno 1627.

P. S. Besides the spoiling of the trade this last year, our boat and men had like to have been cut off by the Indians, after the fishermen were gone, for the wrongs which they did them in stealing their skins and other abuses offered them, both the last year and this ; and besides they still continue to truck pieces, powder and shot with them, which will be the overthrow of all, if it be not looked unto.

NOTE.

A collision came near taking place between the two colonies in 1633, growing out of the first attempts to extend their settlements to Connecticut river.—Prince, under that year, has the following extracts from Bradford's MS. History in relation to this subject :—" We having had formerly converse and familiarity with the Dutch, they seeing us seated in a barren quarter told us of a river called by them the Fresh river, which they often commended to us for a fine place both for plantation and trade, and wished us to make use of it ; but our hands being full otherwise, we let it pass. But afterwards there coming a company of Indians into these parts, who were driven thence by the Pequents, who usurped upon them, they often solicited us to go thither and we should have much trade, especially if we would keep a house there. And having a good store of commodities, we began to send that way to discover the same and trade with the natives. We found it to be a fine place, and tried divers times not without profit, but saw the most certainty would be by keeping a

house there to receive the trade when it comes down out of the inland. These Indians not seeing us very forward to build there, solicited those of the Massachusetts in like sort, for their end was to be restored to their country again.— But they in the Bay being but lately come, were not fit for the same.”*

At length the Plymouth people resolved to commence a settlement upon the banks of the Connecticut; but the Dutch, in the mean time, had taken possession of the river, and built Fort Good Hope within the limits of the present city of Hartford, with the intention of occupying the country. The Pilgrims having declined the invitation when given them on a former occasion to remove the seat of their colony to the Connecticut, the Dutch were now unwilling to allow them to occupy the river after they had themselves determined to colonize it, and had been at the expense of building a fort for their protection. Difficulties ensued, of which Bradford gives the following account:—

“But the Dutch begin now to repent, and hearing of our purpose and preparation, endeavour to prevent us, get in a little before us, make a slight fort, and plant two pieces of ordnance, threatening to stop our passage. But we having a great new bark, and a frame of a house, with boards, nails, &c. ready, that we might have a defence against the Indians, who are much offended that we bring home and restore the right sachems of the place, called Natawannte; so as we are to encounter with a double danger in this attempt, both the Dutch and Indians. When we come up the river, the Dutch demand *‘What we intend, and whither we would go?’* We answer, *‘Up the river to trade.’* Now our order was to go and seat above them. They bid us *‘strike and stay, or they would shoot us,’* and stood by their ordnance ready fitted. We answer, *‘We have a commission from the governor of Plymouth to go up the river to such a place; and if they shoot, we must obey our order and proceed; we would not molest them, but would go on.’* So we pass along, and the Dutch threaten us hard, yet they shoot not. Coming to our place about a mile above the Dutch, [since called Windsor,] we quickly clap up our house, land our provisions, leave the company appointed, send the bark home, and afterwards palisade our house about and fortify better. The Dutch send word home to the Manhatos what was done, and in process of time they send a band of about seventy men in warlike manner, with colours displayed, to assault us; but seeing us strengthened, and that it would cost blood, they come to a parley and return in peace; and this was our entrance there. We did the Dutch no wrong, for we took not a foot of any land they bought, but went to the place above them, and bought that tract of land which belonged to the Indians [whom] we carried with us and our friends; with whom the Dutch had nothing to do.”

EDITOR.

* Referring to the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

XII.

THE
CHARTER OF LIBERTIES
GRANTED
TO PATROONS AND COLONISTS,
A. D. 1629,
AND
MISCELLANEOUS EXTRACTS,

TRANSLATED FROM

The Dutch Colonial Records, &c.

CHARTER OF LIBERTIES.

*Charter of Liberties and Exemptions of 1629.**

Privileges and Exemptions for the patroons, masters, or private individuals who shall settle any colony or bring cattle therein, in New Netherlands, considered for the service of the General West India Company in New Netherlands, and for the advantage of the patroons, masters, and private individuals.†

I. THAT such members of the said company, as may be inclined to settle any colony in New Netherland, shall be permitted with the ships of this company going thither to send three or four persons to examine the situation of the country, provided, that they with the officers and ship's company swear to the instrument of conditions (*articles*) so far as they relate to them; and paying for provisions, and for passage, going and coming, six stuyvers per day: and such as desire to eat in the cabin, twelve stuyvers, and to be subordinate, and to give assistance like others, in cases offensive and defensive: and if any ships be taken from the enemy, they shall *pro rata* receive their proportions with the ship's company, each according to his quality; that is to say, that the colonists eating out of the cabin shall be rated with the sailors, and such as eat in the cabin with those of the company's men that eat at table, and receive the lowest wages.

II. Yet in this respect such persons shall be preferred

* Rensselaerwyck MSS. Translated by Abraham Lott, jr. 1762, First published in Moulton's Hist. New-York. 1826.

† The charter was published at Amsterdam the next year, with the following title prefixed:—

Vryheiden by de Vergaderinghe van de Negenthiene van de Geootroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie vergunt aen allen den ghenen, die eenighe Colonien in Nieuw-Nederlandt sullen planten. In het licht ghegheven, &c. T' Amstelredam, door Marten Jantz Brandt, &c. Anno 1630.

Liberties or Privileges, granted by the Assembly of Nineteen of the authorized West India Company, to all such as shall or may settle or plant any colony in New-Netherlands. Published with a view to make known what profits and advantages result to colonists and their patroons and masters, as also to others who settle colonies in New Netherlands.—Moulton. 389.

who have first appeared and desired the same from the company.

III. That all such shall be acknowledged patroons of New-Netherland, who shall, within the space of four years next after they have given notice to any of the chambers, (or colleges,) of the company here, or to the commander or council there, undertake to plant a colony there of fifty souls, upwards of fifteen years old, one fourth part within one year, and within three years after the sending of the first, making together four years, the remainder to the full number of fifty persons, to be shipped from hence, on pain in case of wilful neglect of being deprived of the privileges obtained; but it is to be observed that the company reserve the island of the Manhattes to themselves.

IV. That from the time that they make known the situation of the places where they propose to settle colonies, they shall have the preference to all others of the absolute property of such lands as they have there chosen; but in case the situation should afterwards not please them, or that they should have been mistaken as to the quality of the land, they may, after stating the same to the commander and council there, be at liberty to choose another place.

V. That the patroons, by virtue of their power, shall and may be permitted, at such places as they shall settle their colonies, to extend their limits four miles* along the shore, that is on one side of a navigable river, or two miles on each side of a river, and so far into the country as the situation of the occupiers will permit. Provided and conditioned, that the company keep to themselves the lands lying and remaining between the limits of colonies, to dispose thereof, when, and at such time as they shall think proper, in such manner that no person shall be allowed to come within seven or eight miles of them without their consent; unless the situation of the land thereabout were such, that the commander and council for good reasons should order otherwise; always observing that the first occupiers are not to be prejudiced in the right they have obtained, other than unless the service of the company should require it for the building of fortifications, or something of that sort; retaining, moreover, the command of each bay, river, or island, of the first settled colony, under the supreme jurisdiction of their High Mightinesses the Staats General and the Company: but that on the next colony's being settled on the same river or island, they may, in conjunction with the first, appoint one or more councillors, in order to consider what may be necessary for the prosperity of the colonies on the said river and island.

* Twelve English miles.

VI. That they shall for ever possess and enjoy all the lands lying within the aforesaid limits, together with the fruits, rights, minerals, rivers, and fountains thereof; as also the chief command, and lower jurisdictions, fishing, fowling, and grinding, to the exclusion of all others, to be holden from the company as an eternal heritage, without its ever devolving again to the company, and in case it should devolve, to be redeemed and repossessed, with twenty guilders* per colony to be paid to this company, at their chamber here, or to their commander there, within a year and six weeks after the same happens; each at the chamber where he originally sailed from. And further, that no person or persons whatsoever shall be privileged to fish and hunt, but the patroons, and such as they shall give liberty: and in case any one should in time prosper so much, as to found one or more cities, he shall have power and authority to establish officers and magistrates there, and to make use of the title of his colony according to his pleasure and to the quality of the persons.

VII. That there shall likewise be granted to all patroons who shall desire the same, *venia testandi*, or liberty to dispose of their aforesaid heritage by testament.

VIII. That the patroons may, if they think proper, make use of all lands, rivers, and woods, lying contiguous to them, for and during so long time as this company shall not grant them to other patroons or individuals.

IX. That those who shall send persons over to settle colonies, shall furnish them with proper instructions, in order that they may be ruled and governed conformably to the rule of government made, or to be made by the assembly of nineteen, as well in the political as judicial government; which they shall be obliged first to lay before the directors of the respective colleges.

X. That the patroons and colonists shall be privileged to send their people and effects thither, in ships belonging to the company, provided they take the oath and pay to the company for bringing over the people, as mentioned in the first article; and for freight of the goods five per cent. ready money, to be reckoned on the prime cost of the goods here: in which are, however, not to be included, such creatures and other implements as are necessary for the cultivation and improvement of the lands, which the company are to carry over without any reward, if there is room in their ships. But the patroons shall, at their own expense, provide and make places for them, together with every thing necessary for the support of the creatures.

XI. That in case it should not suit the company to send any

* A guilder was twenty stivers, or about forty cents.

ships, or that in those going there should be no room ; then the said patroons, after having communicated their intentions, and after having obtained consent from the company in writing, may send their own ships or vessels thither ; provided, that in going and coming they go not out of their ordinary course ; giving security to the company for the same, and taking on board an assistant, to be victualled by the patroons and paid his monthly wages by the company ; on pain by doing the contrary of forfeiting all the right and property they have obtained to the colony.

XII. That as it is the intention of the company to people the island of the Manhattes first, all fruits and wares shall for the present, be brought there, that arise upon the North river, and lands lying thereabouts, before they may be sent elsewhere : excepting such as are from their nature unnecessary there, or such as cannot, without great loss to the owner thereof, be brought there. In which case the owners thereof shall be obliged to give timely notice in writing of the difficulty attending the same to the company here, or the commander and council there, that the same may be remedied as the necessity thereof shall be found to require.

XIII. That all the patroons of colonies in New-Netherlands and of colonies on the island of Manhattes, shall be at liberty to sail and traffic all along the coast, from Florida to Terre Neuf, provided, that they do again return with all such goods as they shall get in trade to the island of Manhattes, and pay five per cent. for recognition to the company, in order, if possible, that after the necessary inventory of the goods shipped be taken, the same may be sent hither. And if it should so happen that they could not return, by contrary streams or otherwise, they shall in such case not be permitted to bring such goods to any other place but to these dominions, in order that under the inspection of the directors of the place where they may arrive, they may be unladen, an inventory thereof made, and the aforesaid recognition of five per cent. paid to the company here, on pain, if they do the contrary, of the forfeiture of their goods so trafficked for, or the real value thereof.

XIV. That in case of the ships of the patroons, in going to, coming from, or sailing on the coast, from Florida to Terre Neuf, and no farther, without our grant should overpower any of the princes of the enemy, they shall be obliged to bring, or cause to be brought, such prince to the college of the place from whence they sailed out, in order to be rewarded by them : the company shall keep the one third part thereof, and the remaining two thirds shall belong to them, in consideration of the cost and risk they have been at, all according to the orders of the company.

XV. That it shall also be free for the aforesaid patroons to traffic and trade all along the coast of New-Netherlands and places circumjacent, with such goods as are consumed there, and receive in return for them all sorts of merchandize that may be had there, except beavers, otters, minks, and all sorts of peltry, which trade the company reserve to themselves. But the same shall be permitted at such places where the company have no factories, conditioned that such traders shall be obliged to bring all the peltry they can procure to the island of Manhattes, in case it be at any rate practicable, and there deliver to the director, to be by him shipped hither, with the ships and goods; or if they should come here, without going there, then to give notice thereof to the company, that a proper account thereof may be taken, in order that they may pay to the company, one guilder for each merchantable otter and beaver skin; the property, risk, and all other charges, remaining on account of the patroons or owners.

XVI. That all coarse wares that the colonists of the patroons there shall consume, such as pitch, tar, weed-ashes, wood, grain, fish, salt, hearthstone, and such like things, shall be brought over in the company's ships at the rate of eighteen guilders per last, four thousand weight to be accounted a last, and the company's ship's crew shall be obliged to wheel, and bring the salt on board, whereof ten lasts make a hundred. And in case of the want of ships, or room in the ships, they may in ships of their own order it over at their own cost, and enjoy in these dominions, such liberties and benefits as the company have granted; but that in either case they shall be obliged to pay, over and above the recognition of five per cent., eighteen guilders for each hundred of salt that is carried over in the company's ships.

XVII. That for all wares which are not mentioned in the foregoing article, and which are not carried by the last, there shall be paid one dollar for each hundred pounds' weight, and for wines, brandy, verjuice, and vinegar, there shall be paid eighteen guilders per cask.

XVIII. That the company promises the colonists of the patroons that they shall be free from customs, taxes, excise, imposts, or any other contributions, for the space of ten years; and after the expiration of the said ten years, at the highest, with such customs as the goods are taxable with here for the present.

XIX. That they will not take from the service of the patroons any of their colonists, either man or woman, son or daughter, man-servant or maid-servant; and though any of them should desire the same, that they will not receive them, much

less permit them to leave their patroons, and enter into the service of another, unless on consent obtained from their patroons in writing. And this for and during so many years as they are bound to their patroons; after the expiration whereof, it shall be in the power of the patroons to send hither all such colonists as will not continue in their service, and until then shall not enjoy their liberty. And all such colonists as shall leave the service of his patroon, and enter into the service of another, or shall contrary to his contract leave his service, we promise to do everything in our power to apprehend and deliver the same into the hands of his patroon, or attorney, that he may be proceeded against, according to the customs of this country, as occasion may require.

XX. That from all judgments given by the courts of the patroons for upwards of fifty guilders,* there may be an appeal to the company's commander and council in New-Netherlands.

XXI. That touching such particular persons, who, on their own accounts, or others in the service of their masters here, (not enjoying the same privileges as the patroons) shall be minded to go thither and settle; they shall, with the approbation of the director and council there, be at liberty to take up as much land, and take possession thereof, as they shall have ability properly to improve, and shall enjoy the same in full property either for themselves or masters.

XXII. That they shall have free liberty of hunting and fowling, as well by water as by land, generally and in public and private woods and rivers, about their colonies, according to the orders of the director and council.

XXIII. That whosoever, whether colonists or patroons, for their patroons, or free persons for themselves, or other individuals for their masters, shall discover any shores, bays, or other fit places for erecting fisheries, or the making of salt ponds, they may take possession thereof, and begin to work on them in their own absolute property, to the exclusion of all others.. And it is consented to, that the patroons of colonists may send ships along the coast of New-Netherlands, on the cod fishery, and with the fish they catch to trade to Italy, or other neutral countries; paying in such case to the company for recognition six guilders per last: and if they should come with their lading hither, they shall be at liberty to proceed to Italy, though they shall not, under pretext of this consent, or from the company, carry any goods there, on pain of arbitrary punishment: and it remaining in the breast of the company to put a supercargo on board of each ship as in the eleventh article.

XXIV. That in case any of the colonists should by his in-

dustury and diligence, discover any minerals, precious stones, chrystals, marbles, or such like, or any pearl fishery, the same shall be and remain the property of the patroon or patroons of such colony ; giving and ordering the discoverer such premium as the patroon shall beforehand have stipulated with such colonists by contract. And the patroons shall be exempt from all recognition to the company for the term of eight years, and pay only for freight to bring them over, two per cent., and after the expiration of the aforesaid eight years, for recognition and freight the one eighth part of what the same may be worth here.

XXV. That the company will take all the colonists as well free as those that are in service, under their protection, and the same against all outlandish and inland wars and powers, with the forces they have there, as much as in their power lyeth to defend.

XXVI. That whoever shall settle any colony out of the limits of the Manhattes Island, shall be obliged to satisfy the Indians for the land they shall settle upon, and that they may extend or enlarge the limits of their colonies if they settle a proportionate number of colonists thereon.

XXVII. That the patroons and colonists shall in particular, and in the speediest manner, endeavour to find out ways and means whereby they may support a minister and schoolmaster, that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cool, and be neglected among them ; and that they do, for the first, procure a comforter of the sick there.

XXVIII. That the colonies that shall happen to lie on the respective rivers or islands (that is to say, each river or island for itself,) shall be at liberty to appoint a deputy, who shall give information to the commander and council of that western quarter, of all things relating to his colony, and who are to further matters relating thereto, of which deputies there shall be one altered or changed, in every two years ; and all colonies shall be obliged, at least once in every twelve months, to make exact report of their colony and lands thereabout, to the commander and council there in order to be transmitted hither.

XXIX. That the colonists shall not be permitted to make any woollen, linen, or cotton cloth, nor weave any other stuffs there, on pain of being banished, and as perjurers to be arbitrarily punished.

XXX. That the company will use their endeavours to supply the colonists with as many blacks as they conveniently can, on the conditions hereafter to be made ; in such manner, however, that they shall not be bound to do it for a longer time than they shall think proper.

XXXI. The company promises to finish the fort on the island of the Manhattes, and to put it in a posture of defence without delay ; and to get these privileges and exemptions approved and confirmed by their High Mightinesses, the Lords States General.

Extracts from the Letters of the Directors of the West India Company, contained in the MS. Colonial Records.

Vol iv. p. 25. Your apprehensions in regard to the Rev. Backenus have been verified. He has made a common cause with the complainants who arrived here from your country.— These silly persons, at least the largest part of the petitioners, have been imposed upon by a few worthless persons, viz. Cornelis Melyn, Adrian van der Donck, and a few others, who, as it appears, will leave nothing untried to abjure every kind of subjection to government, under pretext that they groaned under a too galling yoke. In this frantic opinion they are confirmed by Wouter van Twiller, who aims to appoint himself as the only commander on the North river, and dares to declare in public that he does not intend to permit any one to navigate this river with a commercial view, and that he will repel with force every one who with that purpose should come there, or in Rensselaerwyck, asserting besides that Fort Orange was constructed on the soil of Rensselaerwyck, consequently that the Company has no right whatever to permit particular persons either to build a house, or exercise any trade, without considering that said Fort Orange, fifteen years before any mention of Rensselaerwyck exists, was constituted and actually garrisoned by the Company ; that besides a house of commerce (trading house) was established in the fort, till the year 1644 ; so that the fur trade till our days was exclusively reserved to the Company, and ought to remain on the same footing whenever the Company shall be enabled to provide their magazines with sufficient store goods. Neither are we without hope to discover and employ the means as soon as the opportunity is offered, to exclude from this commerce these impertinent fellows ; using this sovereign right with the best title to the confusion of this ungrateful individual, who, if we may so express it, has sucked his wealth from the breasts of the Company which he now abuses ; upon which the merchants pretty generally transmitted to us the inclosed petitions, requesting to be maintained by us in their right to a free trade. Apprehending from warnings that Wouter van Twiller might again become so presumptuous as to obstruct once more by force the

navigation on the North river, and use violent means against the merchants, vilifying in this matter the right of jurisdiction in the Company; in such a case it is our express will that your Honours shall repel him, with prudence for your guide, by force of arms. If he should plant again some guns near the river, as he did before, your Honours will carry them off and keep them in your custody till you have received our further orders. He has requested us in behalf of Rensselaerwyck, to freight his own ship with 600 lb. powder and 600 lb. lead, which we fear he may abuse. It is our intention to provide you too with some powder and lead, not with the intention to offend any one with it, but only to maintain the rights of the Company, which in our opinion are in danger through the machinations of many. It is your duty to keep a watchful eye on the ship of this Wouter van Twiller, and in case any articles were discovered in it besides our general invoice, or freighted without the consent of the company, then you must take the whole into your possession, and institute a lawsuit upon it by the Attorney General conformably with the laws of the land.

Amsterdam, Feb. 16, 1650.

No more can we discover on what ground the colonists of Rensselaerwyck did occupy Bears Island, which they called *Rensselaer-stein*, which possession they have usurped in such a lofty way that they named this place "The place by right of arms," and compelled every one, exempting only the company's property, to pay a toll of 5 gl. &c. p. 46.

We do not know in what these persons do trust, but we are confident they will be disappointed, and more so yet, if said Van Twiller intends to monopolize the trade upon the North river, which we know to have been his aim a great while, with his toll on Bears Island, now called by them *Rensselaer-stein*; but we have no intention to permit this; every one shall navigate this river unmolested and enjoy a free trade at our Fort Orange which these colonists pretend to have constructed on their own territory. Who ever heard a more impertinent pretension!" p. 49.

21 March, 1651.

Answer to the petition of Adrian van der Donck, addressed by, the Company to the Governor.

Vol. iv. p. 3. As Mr. Adrian van der Donck has petitioned our college, first, that as he has received his degree at law in the University of Leyden, and been admitted to practise it before the Supreme Court of Holland, he may be permitted to follow his

profession as advocate in New Netherlands. Secondly, that he may examine all the records and documents in the secretary's office to accomplish his history of New Netherlands, which he did undertake to write. So is our resolution upon these points: we consent and permit him that, in conformity with the rules and customs of this country, he may follow his profession as advocate in New Netherlands, to give his advice to all who may desire to obtain it; but as regards his pleading before the courts, we cannot see that it can be admitted yet with any advantage to the Directors and Council in New Netherlands. Besides that we are ignorant if there be any of that stamp in your city, (who nevertheless before they can be admitted must apply to your Honour, or directly to our Department,) who can act and plead against said Van der Donck in behalf of the other side. We trust that in this you will consult the interest of your government, and the welfare of the inhabitants."

24 July, 1653.

RENSSELAERWYCK.

At the request of Govert Lookermans, declared the undersigned witnesses, viz. Cors Peterson, about thirty-three years of age, Harmen Arentsen, from Bremen, thirty-five years old, Cornelius Mauntsen Bout, twenty-seven years old, Willem Petersen, twenty years old, Joannes Verbrugge, about twenty years old, Carman Douwes, about twenty-six years old, Harman Bastiansen, twenty-five years old, Jacob Jansen, twenty-three years old, and Elbert Hebers, twenty-four years old, who jointly and separately declared, which declaration they were willing to confirm by an oath whenever it is required, that it is true that Govert Lookermans with the witnesses sailed from Fort Orange in the yacht the Good Hope, and when they arrived near the Bears' Island on which Nicholas Koren resides in the name of the patroon Van Rensselaer, the said Nicholas Koren cried out to Govert Lookermans, when we were passing by, "*Lower thy colors!*" "*For whom should I do so?*" retorted Lookermans. Then Koren replied, "*For the staple-right of Rensselaerwyck.*" Then Govert Lookermans answered, "*I lower not my colors for any individual except the Prince of Orange and the Lords my Masters.*" Thereupon Nicholas Koren immediately fired a gun; the first shot went through the sail, broke the ropes and the ladder; a second shot passed over us, and the third, fired by a savage, perforated our princely colors about a foot above the head of Lookermans, who kept the colors constantly in his hand. But we continued our course notwithstanding this insulting assault without returning the fire, or making any other reprisal whatever, and gently descended

the river. All which we declare to pay our homage to the truth, without any malice or lurking wish to court the favour of any individual. Done before Fort Amsterdam in New Netherlands, 9 July 1644. (Signed by the above named deponents.)

In presence of CORNELIUS VAN TIENHOVEN, Secretary.

Appeared before me, Cornelius van Tienhoven, Secretary in New Netherlands, Isbrant Claesen, forty-four years old, and John Tomasen, about forty years old, who jointly and separately at the request of Nicolas Koorn, sheriff in Rensselaerwyck, declare, which declaration they are willing to confirm with a solemn oath, that it is true, that Govert Lookermans, when sailing down the river some time ago, came about Bears Island, when Nicolas Koorn fired a gun without ball as a warning. When Govert continued his course, Nicolas Koorn said "*Strike!*" Govert Lookermans replied, "*For whom shall I strike?*" Nicolas Koorn answered, "*To pay homage to Rensselaerstein.*" Govert then exclaimed, "*I strike for nobody but the Prince, or those by whom I am employed.*" Then Nicolas ordered to fire behind the bark, when Govert Lookermans vociferated, "*Fire ye dogs, and the devil take you.*" Then the sheriff offered to fire once more, when the shot struck and perforated the sail. Done in Fort Amsterdam in New Netherlands, 7 October, 1644. Vol. iii. 219.

I, Cornelius Huyghens, Attorney General in New Netherlands, to Mr. Nicolas Koorn in behalf of Mr. Van Rensselaer in his colony.

Whereas I am informed with certainty, that it is your intention, and that you are qualified by your patroon, to establish yourself on Bears' Island, situated three miles* below Fort Orange with a body of men, to build there a fort, for which you have provided guns to defend it;—and whereas this is inconsistent with the privileges granted to patroons and lords of manors, since a colony may not be further extended than four miles along the coast, or two miles on both sides of the river, as is evident from Article 5th of the grant; and whereas said Bears' Island is more than two miles from the limits of the said colony—besides the bold attempt to construct there a fort which might command the river, and debar Fort Orange from the free navigation—all which would be ruinous to the interests of the Company: Therefore I desire to know what authority you have, and by whom you have been invested with it. If you do not directly comply with this demand, then I forbid you to construct any building whatever, much less any fortification out of

* Nine English miles. This island retains its original name.

the limits of the said colony of Rensselaerwyck ; and if you notwithstanding this prohibition dare to proceed, then I protest against the damages which must be the consequence of such lawless transactions, which I shall prosecute against you, or any other persons whom it may concern.

I, Nicolas Koorn, commander in Rensselaer-stein,* in behalf of the Honorable Killian van Rensselaer, under the high allegiance of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands and the privileged West India Company, first commander of the colony on the North river in New Netherlands, make it known to you, Cornelius van Huyghens, Attorney General of New Netherlands, as the vice-commander of the Hon. Van Rensselaer, that you will not presume to oppose and frustrate my designs on the Bears' Island, to defraud me in any manner or to cause me any trouble, as it has been the will of their High Mightinesses the States General and the privileged West India Company, to invest my patroon and his heir with the right to extend and fortify his colony, and make it powerful in every respect ; wherefore you Cornelius Van Huyghens, Attorney General, will take care to avoid any attempt on these rights, and if you persist in doing so, I, Nicolas Koorn, protest against the act of violence and assault committed by the Hon. Lords Majors, which I leave them to settle between them and my Hon. patroon, while the undertaking has nothing else in view than to prevent the canker of freemen entering his colony.

The Attorney General persists in his interdiction, and renews his protest.

Done in Manhattans, 18 Nov. 1644, in New Netherlands.

CORNELIUS VAN DER HUYGHENS, Attorney General.

NICHOLAS KOORN,	} Witnesses.
DAVID PROVOST,	
STOFFEL STEVENSON.	

Vol. iii. 187.

AWARD OF REFEREES.

John Underhill and Isaac Allerton† are authorized by the Honorable Director and Council in New Netherlands, to settle the accounts between Mr. Moor and Mr. Wedderley to their

* *Stein* in Netherlands and Germany is used for *castle*. TRANS.

† Both of these persons were of some note in the annals of New England.—Allerton was originally settled at New Plymouth ; he afterwards removed to New Amsterdam, but is supposed to have passed the latter part of his life at New Haven, where he died in 1659. *Morton's Memorial*—Ed. of Judge Davis. Appx. 393. *Mass. Hist. Coll. 3d Series*, vii. 243. *Memoir of Isaac Allerton*.—Underhill died at Oyster Bay, in 1672. See an interesting memoir of him in Thompson's valuable History of Long Island, p. 336.

best knowledge ; and having thoroughly and impartially examined said affair, *so it is*, that they declared that the half of the bark ought to remain the property of Mr. Moor, provided he delivers to Mr. Wedderley 250 lbs. tobacco, or its value, and leaving it further to Wedderley to settle with Ridder in Virginia. Whereas for the truth thereof, this act has been signed on 26 November, 1644, in Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherlands.

JOHN UNDERHILL,
ISAAC ALLERTON.*

CASTLE ISLAND.

Vol. xxiv. 167. Extract from the answer of Governor Stuyvesant to the application of the General Court of Massachusetts, soliciting a free passage for their vessels on the North river to Fort Orange, April 20, 1660.

"That this North river of New Netherlands was first discovered at the expense of the Netherlands in the year 1609, by Hendrick Hudson, skipper and merchant of the yacht Half-Moon, in the service of the East India Company ; upon the report of said Hudson, several merchants of Amsterdam sent in the following year, 1610, another ship up the North river, who obtained the next year a grant of their High and Mighty Lords, the States General, to sail upon that river and to navigate ; for whose security they built, in the year 1615, a small fort from which an island near Fort Orange yet bears the name of Castle Island, and the monuments of which can yet be shown ;—which small fort by high water and ice was three years after highly injured, so that at length it entirely decayed."

CONTRACT FOR THE BUILDING OF A CHURCH.

Vol. iii. 31. "Appeared before me, Cornelius Van Tienhoven, Secretary in behalf of the general privileged West India Company in New Netherlands, the Honorable William Kieft, church-warden, at the request of his brethren, the church-wardens of the church in New Netherlands, to transact and in their name to conclude the following business. So did he, as church-warden, agree with John Ogden about a church in the following manner, viz. :—

John Ogden of Stamford, and Ritsert Ogden, engage to build in behalf of said church-wardens a church of *rock-stone*, seventy-two feet long, fifty-two feet broad, and sixteen feet high above the soil, all in good order, and in a workman-like manner. They shall be obliged to procure the stone and bring it on shore

* Isaac Allerton was plaintiff in a suit before the Burgomasters' Court in fort Amsterdam, March 24, 1654.

near the fort at their own expense, from whence the church-wardens shall further convey the stone to the place where it is intended to build the church, at their own expense. The church wardens aforesaid will procure as much lime as shall be required for the building of the aforesaid church. John and Ritsert Ogden shall at their own charge pay for the masonry, &c., provided that when the work shall be finished the church wardens shall pay to them the sum of 2500 gl.,* which payment shall be made in beaver, cash, or merchandize, to wit:—if the church-wardens are satisfied with the work, so that in their judgment the 2500 gl. shall have been earned, then the said church-wardens shall reward them with 100 gl. more; and further promise to John Ogden and Ritsert Ogden to assist them whenever it is in their power. They further agree to facilitate the carrying the stone thither, and that John and Ritsert Ogden may use during a month or six weeks the Company's boat; engaging themselves and the aforesaid John and Ritsert Ogden to finish the undertaken work in the manner as they contracted. Done in Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherlands. (Signed) William Kieft, John Ogden, Richard Ogden, Gysbert op Dyck, Thomas Willett.†

EXTRACT FROM JOSSELYN'S VOYAGES.‡

"The whole country is divided into colonies, and for your better understanding, observe a colony is a sort of people that come to inhabit a place before not inhabited, or *colonus quasi*, because they should be tillers of the earth. From hence by a

* About one thousand dollars.

† There is no date legible in the original of this contract, which was signed by the parties in the book of Records. The date was probably inserted at the beginning, which is rendered partially illegible by the mouldering of the leaves; but as the other documents both immediately preceding and following this in the Records are of the date 1642, there can be no doubt that it was executed in that year; the church was commenced in 1643. This is the church mentioned by De Vries (see above p. 265). It stood within the walls of the Fort, and remained unaltered until 1691, when it was remodelled, and afterwards used for the service of the church of England. It was finally destroyed by fire in 1741. The Dutch congregation built a church on Garden street in 1691, to which they removed. Governor Stuyvesant erected a chapel near his country-house about 1660, on the present site of St. Mark's Church. The church in the Fort and the Governor's chapel were the only churches existing in the city prior to the one in Garden street, with the exception of the original place of worship that preceded the stone church, and which De Vries calls a 'barn' from the homeliness of its appearance. At what period the latter was erected is unknown. The first notice of it that we have seen is in the deposition respecting the public property taken in 1638, at the commencement of Kieft's administration. (See above p. 279).

‡ "An account of two Voyages to New England, &c. By John Josselyn. Gent. London, 1674." Dedicated to "the Right Honorable and Most Illustrious the President and Fellows of the Royal Society."

usual figure the country where they sit down is called a Colony or Plantation.

"The first of these that I shall relate of, though last in possession of the English, is now our most southerly colony, and next adjoining to Maryland, scil. the Manadaes or Manahanent, lying upon the great river Mohegan, which was first discovered by Mr. Hudson, and sold presently by him to the Dutch, without authority from his sovereign the king of England, anno 1608. The Dutch in 1614 began to plant there, and called it New Netherlands, but Sir Samuel Argal, governor of Virginia, routed them; the Dutch after this got leave of King James to put in there for fresh water in their passage to Brazil,* and did not offer to plant until a good while after the English were settled in the country. In anno 1664, his majesty Charles the Second sent over four worthy gentlemen commissioners to reduce the colonies into their bounds, who had before encroached upon one another, who marching with three hundred red-coats to Manadaes or Manhataes, took from the Dutch their chief town then called New Amsterdam, now New York; the twenty-ninth of August, turned out their governor with a silver leg, and all but those that were willing to acknowledge subjection to the king of England, suffering them to enjoy their houses and estates as before. Thirteen days after Sir Robert Carr took the fort and town of Aurania, now called Albany; and twelve days after that, the fort and town of Awsapha [Æsopus]; then De-la-Ware Castle, manned with Dutch and Swedes. So now the English are masters of three handsome towns, three strong forts and a castle, not losing one man. The first governor of these parts for the king of England was Colonel Nicols, a noble gentleman, and one of his majesty's commissioners, who coming for England in *anno Domini* 1668, as I take it, surrendered the government to Colonel Lovelace.

"New York is situated at the mouth of the great river Mohegan, and is built with Dutch brick *alla-moderna*, the meanest house therein being valued at one hundred pounds; to the landward it is compassed with a wall of good thickness. At the entrance of the river is an island well fortified, and hath command of any ship that shall attempt to pass without leave." pp. 152—154.

* The same story is told in Thurloe's *State Papers*, that the Dutch "by the permission of King James had granted from him to their States only a certain island, called therefore by them *States Island* [Staten Island], as a watering place for their West India fleets; although as they have encroached upon, so they have given it a new Dutch name, * * * wiping out the old English names in those parts of America in their old sea charts, and have new *Dutchified* them." See the document at length in Hazard's *State Papers*, i. 604—5. This story of a 'watering place' is as probable as that of the sale by Hudson; both equally unsustained by the history of the country.

TABLES OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.

The following statistical tables are taken from De Laet's *History of the West India Company*. That work has not been translated, but from an examination of its index it appears to contain nothing else of interest relating to the colony of New Netherlands.

EXPORTS,

From New Netherlands by the West India Company, from A. D. 1624 to 1635.

Date.	Beavers.	Otters, &c.	Guilders.
1624	4,000	700	27,125
1625	5,295	463	35,825
1626	7,258	857	45,050
1627	7,520	370	12,730
1628	6,951	734	61,075
1629	5,913	681	62,185
1630	6,041	1,085	68,012
1632	13,513	1,661	143,125
1633	8,800	1,383	91,375
1635	14,891	1,413	134,925

IMPORTS.

		Guilders.
1624	In two ships, goods, wares, &c.	25,569
1625	Several ships, "	8,772
1626	Two ships, "	20,384
1627	Four ships, "	56,170
1628	no imports	
1629	Three ships, "	55,778
1630	Two ships, "	57,499
1631	One ship, "	17,355
1632	One ship, "	31,320
1634	One ship, "	29,562
1635	One ship, "	28,875

List of the wealthier citizens of New-Amsterdam, A.D. 1653.

THE following list is taken from a MS. volume of the City Records recently translated from the Dutch, at the request of the Corporation of New-York, by Rev. Mr. Westbrook, of Peekskill.

"On Thursday, in the afternoon, being the 13th March, 1653, in session at Fort-Amsterdam:—

Arent van Hattem, Burgomaster,	} Schepens.
P. Leendersen Vandergrist,	
William Beekman,	
Allard Antony,	
M. Van Geele,	
Pieter Wolfersen,	
The Burgomaster Marten Krigier absent.	

A List of the persons who shall provisionally contribute the following sums for the purpose of putting the city in a state of defence.

	guilders.		guilders.
His Mightiness Werckhoven,	200	Jacob Backer,	150
Johannes van Beeck,	200	Nicolas Boodt,	100
Johannes P. Verbrugge,	200	Isaack Foreest,	100
Johannes G. Verbrugge,	100	Abram Geenes,	100
Johannes de Peyster,	100	Jacob Steendam,	100
Cornelis van Steenwyck,	200	Antony Claesen,	50
Govert Lookermans	150	Jan Jansen, jr.	50
Olof Stevensen,	150	Borger Joris,	100
Jacob Schellinck,	200	Jan Vinje,	50
Pieter Prins,	100	Arent van Hattem,	100
Antony van Hardenbergh,	200	Marten Krigier,	100
Johannes Nefius,	100	Paulus Leendersen,	100
Gulyan Wys,	200	William Beckman,	100
Pieter Buijs,	100	Peter van Cowenhoven,	100
Adriaen and Johannes Keyser,	100	Maximilyen Geel,	100
Paulus Schrick,	100	Allard Antony,	100
Jacob G. Strycker,	100	Abram de la Nooy,	100
Francoijs Fijn,	100	Daniel Letschoet,	100
Matewis de Vos,	100	Philip Genaerdy,	50
Adriaen Blommaert,	100	Egbert van Borsum,	100
Evert Tesselaers Commisen,	200	Hendrick Kip.	50

TAX LIST OF NEW-AMSTERDAM, A.D. 1674.

THE extraordinary expenses attending the repair of the fortifications, and providing for the public defence, after the re-conquest of the city by the Dutch, in 1673, led to the imposition of a direct tax on those citizens whose estates were worth at least 1000 guilders. The following list was made out by a Board of six Assessors specially appointed for that purpose.

Adolph Petersen, estate valued at (guilders Holland value,) 1000	Dirck Wiggerse, 800
Andrias Jochems, 300	Dirck Sieken, 2000
Albert Bosch, 500	Dirck Claesse, Potter, 400
Abraham Carmar, 300	Aegidius Luyk, 5000
Allard Anthony, 1000	Egbert Wouterse, 300
Abraham Jansen, carpenter, 600	Evert Pieterse, 2000
Anthony Jansen Van Salé, 1000	Evert Wesselse Kuyper, 300
Adrian Vincent, 1000	Evert Duyckingh, 1600
Abel Hardenbroeck, 1000	Ephraim Harmans, 1000
Abraham Verplanck, 300	Elizabeth Dr acus, 2000
Aaser Leevy, 2500	Elizabeth Bedloo, 1000
Abram Lubbersen, 300	Ffrancois Rombouts, 5000
Anthony De, 1000	Ffrderick Philipse, 80,000
Anna Van Borssum, 2000	Ffrderick Arentse, turner, 400
Barent Coersen, 3500	Ffrderick Gisberts, 400
Balthasar Bayard, 1500	Guiliane Verplanck, 5000
Boele Roelofsen, 600	Guiliam de Honoud, 400
Barnadus Hasfalt, 300	Gabriel Minville, 10,000
Bay Rosevelt, 1000	Gerret Gullevever, 500
Balthasar de Haert's House, 2000	Mary Loockermans, 2000
Claes Lock, 600	Harmanus Burger & Co., 400
Carsten Leursen, 5000	Hendrick Kip, sen., 300
Cornelis Steenwyck, 50,000	Hendrick Bosch, 400
Cornelis van Ruyven, 18,000	Hendrick Wessels Smit, 1200
Cornelis Janse van Hooren, 500	Hendrick Gillesse, shoemaker, 300
Claes Bordingh, 1500	Hendrick Willemse Backer, 2000
Coenraed Ten Eyck, 5000	Hermanus van Borsum, 600
Christopher Hoogland, 5000	Hans Kieratede, 2000
Cornelis Chopper, 5000	Hendrick van Dyke, 300
Coel Van Brugges's Houses, 1000	Hartman Wessels, 300
Cornelis Van Borssum, 8000	Harinen Smeeman, 300
David Wessels, 800	Henry Bresier, 300
Cornelis Direksen, from west-veen, 1200	Johnannes Van Brugh, 1400
Cornelis Barentse Vander Cuyll, 400	Johannis de Peyster, 15 000
Dirck Smet, 2000	Jeronimus Ebbingh, 30,000
David Jochems, 1000	Jacob Kip, 4000
Daniel Hendricks, 500	Isaacq van Vleccq, 1500
Dirck Van Cleef, 1500	Jan Meleyndorse Karmar, 300
	Isaack de Forest, 1500
	Junan Blanck, 1600

Jacob de Naers,	5000	Laurens Holst,	300
Jan Hendrick Van Bommel,	1500	Luyckes Tienhoven,	600
Jacob Leumen,	300	Marten Kregier, sen.,	2000
Jeremias Jansen Hagenaer,	400	Marten Jansen Meyer,	500
Jacobus van de Water,	2500	Mathijs de Haert,	12,000
Jan Direkse Meyer,	600	Nicholas de Meyer,	50,000
Isaacq Van Tricht, in his brother's house,	2500	Nicholas Bayard,	1000
Jacob Abrahamse, shoemaker,	2000	Nicholas du Puy,	600
Jan Van Breesteede,	500	Nicolas Jansen Backer,	700
Jonas Bartels,	3000	Olof Stevensen Van Cortland,	45,000
Jan Herberdingh,	2000	Peter Jacobs Marius,	5000
Jacob Teuniss Key,	8000	Peter Nys,	500
Jan Spiegelaer,	500	Paulus Richard,	5000
Jan Jansen, carpenter,	300	Peter de Riemer,	800
John Lawrence,	40,000	Paulus Turcq,	300
James Matheus,	1000	Pieter Van de Water,	400
Jan Reay, pipemaker,	300	Pieter Jansen Mesier,	300
Jan Coely Smet,	1200	Philip Johns,	600
Jan Schakerley,	1400	Reynier Willems Backer,	5000
Jan Joosten, Banquier,	2500	Stephanus Van Cortland,	5000
*Jacob Leylaer,	15,000	Simon Jantz Romeyn,	1200
Jan Vigne,	1000	Sibout Claess,	500
Jacob Varrevanger,	8000	S'ouwert Olphertsen,	600
Laurens Jansen Smet,	300	Thomas Leurs,	6000
Luycas Andries, Banquier,	1500	Thomas Louwers Backer,	1000
Laurens Van de Spiegel,	6000	Wilhelm Beeckman,	3000
Lammert Huybertse Moll,	300	Wander Wessels,	600
		Willem Van der Schueven,	300

The foregoing list was copied from the Colonial Records, and published in Moulton's sketch of New-Orange, (as the city was called on its re-conquest by the Dutch,) with some interesting details relating to that period.

* This remarkable man took the lead in a popular movement in 1688, when he assumed the government. He was afterwards tried on a charge of high treason and executed. His attainder was reversed at a later period by act of Parliament, and his estates restored to his family.—Ed.

XIII.

A C A T A L O G U E
O F T H E
M E M B E R S O F T H E D U T C H C H U R C H ,
W I T H T H E N A M E S O F T H E S T R E E T S
I N T H E C I T Y O F N E W - Y O R K ,
A . D . 1 6 8 6 .

From the original manuscript of Rev. HENRY SELVING,

Pastor of the Church.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE,

BY THE REV. THOMAS DE WITT, D.D.

Of the Collegiate Dutch Reformed Church, New-York.

THE list inserted below is copied from a small volume originally belonging to Dominie Henricus Selyns, of the Reformed Dutch Church in the city of New-York. In this are recorded the names of the members of the church, arranged in their order in the respective streets, probably to guide him in his pastoral visitations. It bears the date of 1686—Dominie is the official name familiarly given to their ministers at that period. Dominie Selyns sustained a high reputation in the ministry. In his early day he officiated in the church at *Stuyvesant's Bouwery*, on the spot where St. Mark's Church now stands, and in the church at Brooklyn combined, from 1660 to 1664, when he returned to Holland. Such was the high estimation in which he was here held, that when a vacancy occurred in the church of New-York, by the death of Dom. Drisius, a call was forwarded to Mr. Selyns, which he declined. When, again, a vacancy occurred in 1682, by the death of Dom. W. Van Nieuwenhuysen, a call was again forwarded to him, which he accepted. He continued pastor of the church until his death in 1701. He sustained a high character as an able and faithful minister, and was distinguished for his literary acquirements. He is said to have cultivated a taste for poetry, of which a few specimens in Latin and Dutch remain. A poem of some length will be found prefixed to Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Americana*, addressed to the author.

The list is copied literally from Selyns' manuscript. The original Dutch has been retained.

Explanations :—*Huysvrou van*, wife of.

En zyn huysvrou, and his wife.

De Heer is a title of distinction for a gentleman.

Juffrou is a title of distinction for a lady.

The Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New-York commence in 1639, and are subsequently continued with care and regularity. At that time Everardus Bogardus was minister.

It is not known at what time he was settled. It is ascertained that he was here as early as 1635. From the complexion of the earliest records, it appears that there must have previously been an ecclesiastical organization, but at what time that organization took place cannot be ascertained.

Mr. Bogardus left the church in 1647, and was succeeded by Johannes Megapolensis and Samuel Megapolensis, who officiated at the same time. Johannes Megapolensis, it appears, also labored for a time at Rensselaerwyck. He died in 1670. Samuel Megapolensis was also a doctor of medicine, and was one of the commissioners to negotiate with the British at the capitulation of the colony in 1664. The next in order of time were,

Samuel Drisius, from	1659 to 1672	Joannes Ritzema,	1744 to 1776
Wilhelmus van Nieuwen-		Lambertus De Ronde,	1751 to 1776
huysen,	1671 to 1681	Archibald Laidlie, D D.	1764 to 1778
•Henricus Selyns,	1682 to 1701	John H. Livingston, D D.	1770 to 1810
Gualterus Du Bois,	1699 to 1756	William Linn, D. D.	1785 to 1805
Henricus Boel,	1713 to 1754	Gerardus A. Kuypers, "	1787 to 1833

Ritzema and De Ronde retired into the country when the British took possession of the city in 1776, and did not return to their charge at the close of the war, but remained in retirement in their old age, receiving an annuity till their death.

Dr. Laidlie was the first who preached in the English language, being called for that purpose from Flushing in Holland.

* The following are the concluding lines of the Latin poem above referred to, addressed by Dominie Selyns to Cotton Mather, and inserted in the *Magnalia*.—ED.

"Tu dilecte Deo, cujus Bostonia gaudet
Nostra ministerio, seu cui scribere libros,
Non opus, aut labor est, et qui Magnalia Christi,
Americana refert, scriptura plurima. Nonne
Dignus es, agnoscere inter Magnalia Christi ?

Vive liber, totique orbi miracula monstres,
Quae sunt extra orbem. Cottone, in saecula vive ;
Et dum mundus erit, vivat tua fama per orbem.

HENRICUS SELIJNS,
Ecclesiae Neo-Eboracensis Minister Belgicus."

Dabam Novi-Eboraci Americani,
16 Oct. 1697."

LIST OF CHURCH MEMBERS.

BREEDE WEG, (BROADWAY.)

Ariaentje Cornelis, huysvrouw van Albert Barents,	Helena Pieterse, h. v. van Abraham Mathysen,
Paulus Turck, en zyn huysvrouw Aeltje Barents,	Geurt Gerritsen, en zyn h. v. }
Maria Turck, huysvrouw van Abraham Kermer,	Elizabeth Cornelis,
Coenrad Ten Eyck, en zyn huysvrouw Annetje Daniels,	Seurt Olphertsen, en zyn h. v. }
Gerrit Jantze Roos, en zyn huysvrouw Tryntje Arents,	Ytie Roelofse,
Tobias Stoutenburg, en zyn huysvrouw Annetje van Hillegorn,	Anneken Mauritz, weduwe van Dom. Wilhelmus van Nieuwenhuysen,
Marretje Cornelis, h. v. van Elias Post,	Tryntje Bickers, h. v. van Walter Heyers,
Jurriars Blanck, en zyn h. v. }	De Heer Francois Rombout, en zyn h. v. }
Hester Vanderbeeck,	Helena Teller,
Johannes van Gelder, en zyn h. v. }	Isaac Stephenssen, en zyn h. v. }
Janneken Montenack,	Margareta van Veen,
Peter Willemse Roome, en zyn h. v. }	Lucas Andriesen, en zyn h. v. }
Hester van Gelder,	Aeltje Laurenc,
Willem Vanderschuuren, en zyn h. v. }	M. Gerrit van Tricht, en zyn h. v. }
Grietje Plettenburg,	Maria Vandegrift,
Annetje Berding h. v. van Cornelis Kregier,	Balthazar Bayard, en zyn h. v. }
Tryntje Cornelis, weduwe van Christian Pietersen,	Marretje Lookermans,
Hendrick Obee, en zyn h. v. }	Blandina Kierstede, h. v. van Pieter Bayard,
Aeltje Claes,	Rachel Kierstede,
Evert Aertsen, en zyn h. v. }	Jan Peck, en zyn h. v. }
Marretje Herck,	Elizabeth van Imburgh,
Willem Aertsen, en zyn h. v. }	Gysbert van Imburgh,
Styntie Nagel,	Tryntje Adolph, h. v. van Thomas Hoeken,
Olphert Seurt, en zyn h. v. }	Elizabeth Lucas, weduwe van Jan Stephenssen.
Margareta Kloppe,	

BEURS STRAAT. (EXCHANGE STREET.)

Margareta Pieters, h. v. van Frederick Arentse,	Pieter De Riemer, en zyn h. v. }
Jacob Teller, en zyn h. v. }	Susanna De Foreest,
Christina Wessels,	Isaac De Riemer,
Jacob De Kay, en zyn h. v. }	• Juffrou Marg. De Riemer, weduwe van De Heer Cornelis Steenwyk,
Hillegond Theunis,	Andries Grevenraedt, en zyn h. v. }
Sarah Bedlo, h. v. van Claes Berger,	Anna van Brug.

PAERL STRAAT, (PEARL STREET.)

Jan Willemsen, en zyn h. v. }	Sara Hardenberg,
Elizabeth Frederick,	Isaac Grevenraedt, en zyn h. v. }
Martin Cregier,	Marritje Jans,
Tryntje Cregier, weduwe van Stoffel Hoogland,	Hendrick Jillisen Meyert, en zyn h. v. }
Margareta Blanck, h. v. van Philip Smit,	Elsje Rosenvelt,
Gerrit Hardenberg, en zyn h. v. }	Andries Breesteede, en zyn h. v. }
Jaepje Schepmoes,	Annetje van Borsum,
	Aeltje Schepmoes, weduwe van Jan Evertse Keteltas,

* Dom. Selyns was afterwards married to this lady.

Susanna Marsuryn, weduwe van Claes Berding,	Claesje Blanck, huysvrouw van Vielar Bicker,
Gerrit van Gelder,	Tryntje Claes, weduwe van Jurriaen Blanck,
Pieter Le Grand, en zyn h. v. }	Pieter Jacobsen Marius, en zyn h. v. }
Janneken de Windel, }	Marretje Beeck,
Jan Schouten, en zyn h. v. }	Aeltje Willemse, weduwe van Pieter Cornelisen,
Sara Jans, }	Thomas Laurensen, en zyn h. v. }
Elizabeth Schouten,	Marretje Jans,
Dirck Teunisen, en zyn h. v. }	Cornelis van Langevelt, en zyn h. v. }
Catalina Frans,	Maria Groenlant,
Warner Wessels, en zyn h. v. }	Tryntje Michiels, h. v. van Andries Claesen.
Elizabeth Cornelis, }	
Nicolaes Blanck,	
Catharina Blanck, h. v. van Justus Wilvelt,	

LANG'S STRANT, (ALONG THE STRAND.)

Rebecca Delaval h. v. van Willem Dervall,	Pieter Jansen Meesier, en zyn h. v. }
Elsje Thymens, h. v. van Jacob Leydler,	Marrtje Willemse,
Susanna Leydsler,	Coenrad Ten Eyck, Junior, en zyn h. v. }
Daniel Veenos, en zyn h. v. }	Belitje Hercks,
Christina Vandergrift, }	Tobias Ten Eyck, en zyn h. v. }
Jacob Leendertse Vandergrift, en zyn h. v. }	Elizabeth Hegeman,
Rebecca Frederick,	Benjamin Hegeman,
Nicholas Vandergrift,	Heimanus Berger,
Rachel Vandergrift,	Engeltje Mans, weduwe van Berger Jorisse,
Rachel Kip, h. v. van Lucas Kierstede,	Johannes Berger,
Celetje Jans, h. v. van Paulus Richard,	Lucas Tienhoven, en zyn h. v. }
Elizabeth Grevenvaedt, weduwe van Dom. Samuel Drisius,	Tryntje Berdings,
Pieter Delanoy, en zyn h. v. }	Cornelis Verduyn, en zyn h. v. }
Elizabeth De Potter, }	Sara Hendrickh,
Catharina Bedlo,	Albert Klock, en zyn, h. v. }
Frederick Gysbertse Vandenberg, }	Trintje Abrahams,
en zyn h. v. }	Martin Klock, en zyn h. v. }
Maria Lubberts, }	Elizabeth Abrahams,
Jannetje Tienhoven, h. v. van John Smit,	Geesje Barentse, weduwe van Thomas Lieuwensen,
Henriette Wessels, weduwe van Allard Anthony,	Catharina Lieuwensen,
Maria Wessels,	Johannes van Brug, en zyn h. v. }
Benjamin Blanck, en zyn h. v. }	Catharina Roelofse,
Judith Etsall, }	Cornelia Beeck, h. v. van Jacobus De Hardt,
Jacobus Kip, en zyn h. v. }	Margareta Hendrickse, h. v. van John Robertson,
Hendrickje Wessels, }	Carsten Leursen, en zyn h. v. }
Marntje Wessels, weduwe van Nicolaes Jansen Backer,	Geertje Quick,
Deborah De Meyert, h. v. van Thomas Crundall,	Aeltje Gysberts, h. v. van Zacharias Laurensen
Albert Bosch, en zyn h. v. }	Francyritje Andries, h. v. van Abraham Lubberts,
Elsje Blanck, }	Annetje van Borsum, weduwe van Egbert van Borsum,
Anna Maria Jans, h. v. van Cornelis Jansen van Hoorn,	Pieter Vandergrief, en zyn h. v. }
Hillegond Cornelis, h. v. van Olfert Kreeftberg,	Janneken van Borsum, }
Vrouwte Cornelis,	Robert Sinclair, en zyn h. v. }
	Maria Duycking.

LANG'S DE WAL, (ALONG THE WHARF.)

Willemtje Claes, h. v. van Gysbert Elbertse,	Sophia Claes, h. v. van Rutger Parker,
Neeltje Gysberts,	Gerrit Cornelis van Westveen, en }
Adrian Dirksen, en zyn h. v. }	zyn h. v.
Elizabeth Jans,	Wyntje Stoutenburg,
Heyltje Delachair, h. v. van John Ca-	Urseltje Duytman, weduwe van Jo-
vallier,	hannes Hardenbrook,
Anna Maria van Giesen, h. v. van	Metje Hardenbrook, h. v. van Evert
Johannes Jansen,	Hendrickee,
Marritje Pieters, h. v. van Jacob Pie-	Casparus Hardenbrook,
tersen,	Harmanus van Borsum, en zyn h. v. }
Bernardus Hassing, en zyn h. v. }	Wybrug Hendrickse,
Neeltje van Couwenhoven,	Claertje Dominicus, h. v. van Jan
Geertruid Jans van Gravenswaert,	Pieter Slot,
h. v. van Jan Otten,	Gerritje Quick, h. v. van Leendert De
Neeltje van Thuyt,	Grauw.

NIEUWE STRAAT, (NEW STREET.)

Janneken Jans, h. v. van Isaac Abra-	Melje Davids, weduwe van Abraham
hamsen,	Kermer,
Daniel Waldron, en zyn h. v. }	Jan Willemsen Roome, en zyn h. v. }
Sarah Rutgers,	Maria Bastiaens,
Adriaentje Jans, h. v. van Vincent	Annetje Ackerman, h. v. van Daniel
De la Montague,	Pietersen,
Marritje Waldron, h. v. van Hendrick	Arent Fredericksen, en zyn h. v. }
Gerritsen,	Sara Theunis,
Aeffe Roos, h. v. van Johannes van	Jurrisen Nagel, en zyn h. v. }
Gelder,	Jannetje Phillipsen,
Heyman Koning, en zyn h. v. }	Willein Peers, en zyn h. v. }
Marritje Andries,	Guetje Kierse.

BEVER STRAAT, (BEAVER STREET.)

Jacob Kolve,	Jacob De Koninck,
Janneken Lucas, h. v. van Jacob van	Henricus Selyns,
van Saun,	Hendrick Boelen, en zyn h. v. }
Jacob Phoenix, en zyn h. v. }	Anneken Coert,
Anna van Vleek,	Cornelis van der Cuyt, en zyn h. v. }
Engeltje Hercks, h. v. van Jan Evedse,	Elizabeth Arents,
Hendrick Bosch, en zyn h. v. }	Sarah Waldron, h. v. van Laurens
Egbatje Dirksen,	Colevelt,
Catalina De Vos, h. v. van Nicolaes	Mr. Abraham Delanoy, en zyn h. v. }
Depu,	Cornelia Tol.

MARCKUELT STRAAT, (MARKETFIELD STREET.)

Jan Adamsen Metselaer, en zyn h. v. }	Baetje Jans, huysvrou van Pieter
Geertje Ducksen,	Meyer,
Herman De Grauw, en zyn h. v. }	Arent Leendertse De Grauw, en }
Styntje van Steenbergem,	zyn h. v.
Dirck Jansen De Groot, en zyn h. v. }	Maria Hendricks.
Rachel Phillipse,	

BROUWERS STRAAT, (BROUWER'S STREET, now part of STONE.)

De Heer Frederick Phillipse,	De Heer Stephanus van Cortland, }
Johanna van Swaenenburg,	en zyn h. v. }
Anna Blanck, h. v. van Joris Brugerton,	Geertruid Schuyler, }
Janneken De Kay, h. v. van Jeremias Tothill,	Jacobus van Cortland, }
Isaac De Foreest, en zyn h. v. }	Juffrou Susanna Schrick, h. v. van Do
Elizabeth van der Spiegel,	Heer Anthony Brockholst,
Sara Philipse, weduwe van Isaac De Foreest,	Sarah van der Spiegel, h. v. van Rip
Jan Dircksen, en zyn h. v. }	van Dam,
Baetje Kip,	Johannes van der Spiegel,
	Ariaentje Gerritsen, h. v. van Pieter Jansen.

BRUG STRAAT, (BRIDGE STREET.)

Otto Gorritsen, en zyn h. v. }	Maria Abrahams,
Engeltje Pieters, }	Mr Hartman Wessels, en zyn h. v. }
Jeremias Jansen, en zyn h. v. }	Elizabeth Jans Cannon, }
Catharina Rappailje, }	Andries Meyert, en zyn h. v. }
Metje Grevenraedt, weduwe van Anthony Jansen,	Vrouwetje van Vorst, }
Abraham Kip,	Jan der Vall, en zyn h. v. }
Abraham Jansen, en zyn h. v. }	Catharina van Cortlandt. }
Tryntje Kip,	

HEEREN GRACHT, (WEST ZYDE.) BROAD STREET, (WEST SIDE.)

Carcl Lodowick,	Theunis De Kay, en zyn h. v. }
Johannes Provoost,	Helena van Brug, }
Brandt Schuyler, en zyn h. v. }	Aginetje Bouen, h. v. van Lodowick
Cornelia van Cortlandt,	Post,
Mr. Hans Kierstede, en zyn h. v. }	Gerrit Leydekker, en zyn h. v. }
Janneken Loockermans, }	Neeltje van der Cuyt, }
Evert Arentsen,	Hendrick Kermer, en zyn h. v. }
Isaac Arentsen,	Annetje Thomas, }
Maria Bennet, h. v. van Jacobus Verhulst,	Jan Jansen Moll, en zyn h. v. }
Pieter Abrahamse van Duursen, en zyn h. v. }	Engeltje Pieters, }
Hester Webbers,	Jacob Boelen, en zyn h. v. }
Helena Fiellart,	Catharina Clerk,
Harmentje Ducksen, h. v. van Thomas Koock,	Dirck Franssen, en zyn h. v. }
Dirck Ten Eyck, en zyn h. v. }	Urseltje Schepmoes }
Aefje Boelen, }	Elizabeth Jacobsen, h. v. van Wybrant
Dr. Johannes Kerfbyl, en zyn h. v. }	Abrahamse,
Catharina Hug,	C. Madgalena Dumsteede, h. v. van
Margareta Hagen,	Hermanus Wessels,
Aechje Janc, weduwe van Pieter van Naerden,	Johannes kip, en zyn h. v. }
Tryntje Pieters,	Catharina Kierstede,
Hendrick Jans van Tuurden, en zyn h. v. }	Styntie Paulus, weduwe van Paulus
Sara Thomas,	Jurison,
Boele Roclofse, en zyn h. v. }	Isaac van Vleck, en zyn h. v. }
Bayken Arentse,	Catalina Delanoy, }
Cornelis Quick, en zyn h. v. }	Mietje Theunis, h. v. van Jan Corsen,
Maria van Hoogten,	Rutgert Willemsen, en zyn h. v. }
	Gysbertje Mauritz,
	Magdaleentje Rutgers, h. v. van Joris Walgraef.

DIACONIE'S HUY, (DEACON'S HOUSE for the Poor, in BROAD-ST.)

Willem Janse Roome, en zyn h. v. }	Albert Cuynen, en zyn h. v.
Marritje Jans,	Tryntje Jans,
Geertje Jans, h. v. van Reyer Stoffel-	Elizabeth Jacobs, weduwe van Jacob
son,	Mons.
Jannetje Hendricks, h. v. van Cregera	Clara Ebel, h. v. van Pieter Ebel.
Golis,	

HEEREN GRACHT, (OOST ZYDE.) BROAD STREET, (EAST SIDE.)

Hendrick Arentse, en zyn h. v. }	Maria Pon, h. v. van Jillis Provost,
Catharina Hardenbrook, }	Grietje Jillis, h. v. van David Pro-
Anna Thyssen, h. v. van Hendrick	voost,
Reniers,	Catharina Vanderveen, h. v. van Jona-
Marritje Cornelis, h. v. van Frans	than Provost,
Claesen,	Jan Willems Nering, en zyn h. v. }
Anna Wallis, h. v. van Wolfert Webber	Catharina de Meyert,
Albertus Ringo, en zyn h. v. }	Gresje Idens, weduwe van Pieter
Jannetje Stoutenburg, }	Nuys,
Jan De la Montagne, en zyn h. v. }	Jacob Mauritzen, en zyn h. v. }
Annetje Waldron, }	Gretje van der Grift, }
Jannetje van Laer, h. v. van Simon	Willem Bogardus, en zyn h. v. }
Breestede,	Walburg de Silla, }
Catharina Kregiers, weduwe van Ni-	Knietje Hendricks, h. v. van Claes
casius De Silla,	Leet,
Leendert De Kleyn, en zyn h. v. }	Cornelia Lubberts, h. v. van Johannes
Magdalena Wolsüm, }	de Peyster,
Magdalena Pieters, h. v. van Joris	Paulus Schrick, en zyn h. v. }
Jansen,	Maria de Peyster, }
Huyg Barentse De Kleyn, en zyn h. v. }	Jan Vincent, en zyn h. v. }
Mayken Bartels, }	Annetje Jans,
Pieter Stoutenburg,	Arent Isaacson, en zyn h. v. }
Willem Waldron, en zyn h. v. }	Elizabeth Stevens. }
Engeltje Stoutenburg, }	

HOOGH STRAAT, (HIGH STREET.)

Rynier Willemsen, en zyn h. v. }	Barent Coert, en zyn h. v. }
Susanna Arents, }	Christina Wessels, }
Tryntje Arents,	Geertruyd Barents, weduwe van Jan
Geertruyd Reyniers,	Hyben,
Adolf Pietersen De Groot, en zyn h. v. }	Sara Ennes, h. v. van Barent Hyben,
Aefje Dirksen, }	De Heer Nicolas de Meyert, en zyn
Anietje De Groot,	h. v. }
Maria De Groot,	Lydia van Dyck, }
Mr. Evert Keteltas, en zyn h. v. }	Elizabeth de Meyert,
Hillegond Joris, }	Christina Steentjens, h. v. van Guil-
Anna Hardenbrook, h. v. van John	lam D'Honneur,
Lillie,	Claes Janse Stavast, en zyn h. v. }
Johannes Hardenbrook,	Aefje Gerritsen, }
Jacob Abrahamse Santvoort, en zyn }	Evert Wessels, en zyn h. v. }
h. v. }	Jannetje Stavast,
Magdalena van Vleck, }	Laurens Wessels, en zyn h. v. }
Laurens Holt, en zyn h. v. }	Aefje Jans,
Hilletje Laurens, }	Anneken Duycking, h. v. van Johannes
Janneken van Dyck, h. v. van Jan	Hoagland,
Cooley,	Fraus Godorus, en zyn, h. v. }
Elizabeth Cooley,	Rebecca Idens, }

Jan Janse van Langendyck, en zyn h. v. }	Geertruid Breestede,
Grietje Wessels, }	De Heer Nicolas Bayard, en zyn h. v. }
Jan Harberdink, en zyn h. v. }	Judith Verleth, }
Mayken Barents, }	Francina Hermans,
Gerret Duycking, en zyn h. v. }	Evert Duycking, en zyn h. v. }
Maria Abeel, }	Hendrickje Simons, }
Christina Cappaeus, h. v. van David }	Cytie Duycking, h. v. van Willem }
Jachemsen, }	Bleek, }
Anna Tebbelaer, h. v. van Elias de }	Antony De Mill, en zyn h. v. }
Windel, }	Elizabeth van der Liphorst, }
Marriatje Andries, h. v. van Jan Brees- }	Pieter De Mill,
teede, }	Sarah De Mill,
Hendrick Wesselse Ton Broeck, en }	De Heer Abraham De Peyster, en }
zyn h. v. }	zyn h. v. }
Jannetje Breestede, }	Catharina De Peyster. }

SLYCK STRAAT, (DITCH STREET.)

Jan Hendrick van Bommel, en zyn h. v. }	Emmerentje Laurens, weduwe van }
Annetje Abrahams, }	Hendrick Oosterhaven, }
Geertruid De Haes, h. v. van Jan }	Leendert Oosterhaven. }
Kreeck, }	

PRINCEN STRAAT, (PRINCE'S STREET.)

Jan Langstraten, en zyn h. v. }	Metje Pieters, h. v. van Jan Pietersen, }
Marritje Jans, }	Nicolaas Jansen, en zyn h. v. }
Albertje Jans, h. v. van Jan Janse van }	Janneken Kiersen, }
Quistkout, }	Annetje Jans, h. v. van William }
Hendrick De Forcest, en zyn h. v. }	Moore, }
Femmetje Flaesbeeck, }	Ambrosius De Waran, en zyn h. v. }
Barent Flaesbeeck, en zyn h. v. }	Ariantje Thomas, }
Marritje Hendricks, }	Susanna De Negrin, h. v. van Thomas }
Susanna Verleth, h. v. van Jan De }	De Meer. }
Forcest, }	

KONINCK STRAAT, (KING STREET.)

Elaje Berger, h. v. van Jan Sipkens, }	Geesje Schuurmans, weduwe van }
Cornelis Pluvier, en zyn h. v. }	Bruin Hage, }
Neeltje van Couwenhoven, }	Elizabeth Schuurmans, }
Frederick Hendricksen, en zyn h. v. }	Jacob Fransen, en zyn h. v. }
Styntie Jans, }	Magdalena Jacobs, }

SMIT STRAAT (SMITH STREET.)

Cornelia Roos, weduwe van Elias }	Jan Jansen van Flemlbrug, en zyn }
Provoost, }	h. v. }
Jan Vinge en zyn h. v. }	Willemyntie De Kleyn, }
Wieske Huypkens, }	Laurens Hendrickse, en zyn h. v. }
Aasnerus Hendricke, en zyn h. v. }	Marretje Jans, }
Neeltje Jans, }	Hendricke van Borsum, en zyn h. v. }
Hester Pluvier, h. v. van Thymen }	Marritje Cornelis, }
Fransen, }	Jannetje Cornelis, }
Jan Meyert, en zyn h. v. }	Thymen van Borsum, en zyn h. v. }
Anna van Vorst, }	Grietje Focken, }
Pieter Jansen, en zyn h. v. }	Wyd Timnier. }
Elizabeth van Hoogten, }	

Grietje Langendyck, weduwe van	David Provoost, en zyn h. v. }
Dirck Dey,	Tryntje Laurens, }
Jannetje Dey, h. v. van Frans Cornelisen,	Tryntje Reymers, weduwe van Meynardt Barentsen,
Jan Pietersen, Bosch, en zyn h. v. }	Marrtje Pietersen, h. v. van Jan Pietersen.
Jannetje Barents, }	
Jannetje Frans, h. v. van William Buyell,	

SMIT'S VALLYE, (SMITH'S VALLEY.)

Elizabeth Lubberts, weduwe van	Wilhelmus De Meyert, en zyn h. v. }
Dirck Fluyt,	Catharina Bayard, }
Jan Jansen van Langendyck,	Jacob Swart, en zyn h. v. }
Pieter Jansen van Langendyck,	Tryntie Jacobs, }
Herman Jansen, en zyn h. v. }	Sarah Joosten, h. v. van Isaac De Mill,
Breehje Ellswaert, }	Dirck Vandercliff, en zyn h. v. }
Tryntie Hadders, h. v. van Albert Wantenaer,	Geesje Hendrickse, }
Hilletje Pieters, weduwe van Cornelis Clopper,	Styntie Jans, h. v. van Joost Carelse,
Johannes Clopper,	Willen Hillacker, en zyn h. v. }
Margareta Vermeulen, weduwe van	Trynte Boelen, }
Hendrick van de Water,	Anna Maria Englebert, h. v. van Clement Ellswaert,
Adriaentje van de Water,	Willielmus Beekman, en zyn h. v. }
Abraham Moll, en zyn h. v. }	Catharina De Boog, }
Jacomyntje van Darlebeek, }	Johannes Beekman, en zyn h. v. }
Fytie Sipkens, h. v. van Roelofse,	Aeltje Thomas. }

BUYTEN DE LAND POORT, (BEYOND THE LAND PORT.)

Anneke Schouten, h. v. van Theunis Dey.

OVER HET VERSCH WATER, (BEYOND THE FRESH WATER.)*

Wolfert Webber, en zyn h. v. }	Pieter Jansen, en zyn h. v. }
Geertruyd Hassing,	Marrtje Jacobs, }
Neeltje Cornelis, h. v. van Dirck Cornelison,	Jacob Kip, en zyn h. v. }
Arie Cornelisen, en zyn h. v. }	Maria De la Montagne, }
Rebecca Ijens, }	Maria Kip,
Franciscus Bastiaense, en zyn h. v. }	Juffrou Judith Isendoorn, weduwe van de Heer Petrus Stuyvesant,
Barbara Emanuel, }	Nicolaes Willem Stuyvesant, en zyn h. v. }
Solomon Pieters, en zyn h. v. }	Elizabeth Slechtenhorst,
Marrtje Anthony,	Marrtje Jacobs, h. v. van Gysbert Servaes,
Anthony Saileyren, en zyn h. v. }	Abraham van de Wostyne,
Josyntie Thomas, }	Catalyntje van de Wootstyn,
Francois Vanderhook, en zyn h. v. }	Abel Bloottgoet, en zyn h. v. }
Wyntie De Vries, }	Ida Adriaense, }
Daniel De Clercq, en zyn h. v. }	Pieter Jacobsen, en zyn h. v. }
Grietje Cozyna, }	Beletje Anaense,
Cozyn Gerritsen, en zyn h. v. }	Jan De Groot, en zyn h. v. }
Vrouwtje Gerritse, }	Margrietje Gerritse, }
Jan Thomassen, en zyn h. v. }	
Apollonia Corneles, }	

* There was formerly a fresh water pond where a part of Centre-street and its vicinity are now situated. That quarter of the city is still often called the *Collect*, from *kolck*, the Dutch word for a small lake. The families residing to the north or on the Bowery road, are described in the list as "beyond the fresh water," referring to this pond.

Jacob De Groot, en zyn h. v. }	Johannes Thomasen, en zyn h. v. }
Grietje Jans, }	Aefje Jacobs, }
Jillis Mandevil, en zyn h. v. }	Johannes van Couwenhoven, en }
Elsje Hendricks, }	zyn h. v. }
Grietje Mandevil, }	Sara Frans. }
Egbert Foekensen, en zyn h. v. }	
Elsje Lucas, }	

AEN DE GROOTE KILL, (BY THE BIG CREEK.)

Conradus Vanderbeeck, en zyn h. v. }	Claes Emanuels, }
Elsje Jans, }	Jan de Vries, } Negroes.

ARME BOUWERY, (POOR FARM.)

Arnout Webber, en zyn h. v. }	Wyntie Teunis, h. v. van Herck }
Janneken Cornelis, }	Tiebout, }
Margareta Meyrink, h. v. van Hen-	Annetje Claes, h. v. van Teunis Cor-
dric Martense, }	nelisen. }
Abraham Rycking, }	

NOTE.

Many of the above names are familiar abbreviations, and correspond to English names as follows :—

<i>Geertje</i> , Gertrude;	<i>Styntie</i> , Christina;	<i>Baetje</i> , Elizabeth;
<i>Grietje</i> , Margaret;	<i>Neettje</i> , Cornelia;	<i>Tryntje</i> , Catherine;
<i>Mietje</i> , Mary;	<i>Marrietje</i> , Maria;	<i>Aeltje</i> , Alida;
<i>Elsje</i> , Alice;	<i>Annetje</i> , Anna;	<i>Claesje</i> , Claudia, &c.

The list appears to have been prepared with great care, but probably contains some errors, especially in respect to the maiden names of the married women. One mistake of this kind certainly exists in the case of Gov. Stuyvesant's widow, whose family name was *Bayard*, instead of *Isendoorn*. On the death of her husband, letters testamentary were granted to her as the executrix of his estate, commencing in the following manner :—

"Whereas Mr. Petrus Stuyvesant, heretofore Governor of these parts for the States General of the United Provinces and the West India Company, deceased, did, in his last will and testament, declare and appoint Mrs. *Judith Bayard*, his widow and relict, to be his whole and sole executrix, to dispose of his estate, goods, and chattels, to such uses and purposes as in the said will and testament is at large set forth," &c. Dated at Fort James, in New York, the 7th day of March, in the twenty-fourth year of his Majesty's reign, A. D. 1671, [1672, *new style*.]*

* Lib. 1. of Wills, Surrogate's Office. The will of Gov. Stuyvesant was dated 19 Jan. 1671—2, and the letters testamentary were issued in the following March.

This lady was the daughter of Balthazar Bayard, a French protestant, who having fled from his native country to escape religious persecution, took refuge in Holland. She was married at Amsterdam, and accompanied her husband to this country in 1647, where she continued to reside until her decease in the early part of 1687. Their children were two sons, Balthazar, born in 1647, and Nicholas William, in 1648. Her will, which was proved April 7, 1687, contains the following provisions respecting the chapel erected by Gov. Stuyvesant on a part of his estate, now the site of St. Mark's Church :

" And I do by these presents further, by form of a legacy, give and grant to the Reformed Nether-Dutch church, or congregation of the city of New-York, my the testatrice's church or chapel, situated on my bowry or farm, together with all the revenues, profits, and immunities, to have and to hold the said chapel and appurtenances after the time of my decease unto the overseers of the said congregation to their use aforesaid for ever ; with further power, if they see cause, to demolish or displace the same, and to employ the materials thereof to such uses as they shall think fit or expedient ; provided that, in such case, of the said materials be made and built all and whatsoever in the enclosed testament is expressed and required for the preservation of the tomb or vault, which was built by my deceased husband in the said church." The " enclosed testament " was another will of a previous date, and contained the following bequest to Col. Nicholas Bayard, a leading politician of that period : " Item. To my said cousin Nicholas Bayard, and to his wife and children, if desired, a burying place in the tomb or vault of my last deceased husband in the chapel or church at my bowry ; and in case it should happen that my said church or chapel did come to decay, or for any other reason be demolished, I do hereby declare and publish it to be my last will and testament, that of the materials of said chapel be made a building sufficient for a cover upon said vault."

The late Petrus Stuyvesant, Esq. a great grandson of the Governor, caused this vault to be repaired and enlarged about forty years ago, when St. Mark's Church was erected, beneath which it now lies. The remains of the Governor were supposed to be then recognized, after a lapse of nearly one hundred and thirty years since his decease.—ED.

XIV.

NEW SWEDEN,
OR
THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE DELAWARE,
BY THE
REV. ISRAEL ACRELIUS,
Provost of the Swedish Churches in America, &c.

Translated from the original Swedish,
BY THE LATE
NICHOLAS COLLIN, D.D.
OF PHILADELPHIA.

I N T R O D U C T O R Y N O T E .

'The intimate connexion that from the first subsisted between the Dutch and Swedish settlements on the Delaware, and their final union under the administration of Gov. Stuyvesant, render the following piece of colonial history appropriate to the present volume. It is derived from a work published at Stockholm in the middle of the last century, chiefly relating to the ecclesiastical annals of the Swedish colony, but to a considerable extent devoted to its civil history.* The author, Rev. Israel Acrelius, was for several years the pastor of a church at Christina, (now Wilmington, Delaware,) and at the head of the Swedish clergy in the colony with the title of Provost. He returned to Sweden in 1756, and resumed the pastoral duties at Fellingsbro, where he was residing at the time his work was published. He died in 1800, at the advanced age of eighty-six years.

Acrelius divided his work into eight parts; the first comprised the period from the settlement of the colony in 1637-8, to its conquest by the Dutch in 1655; the second part describes the administration of the Dutch vice-governors, Paul Jaquet, Jacob Alrichs, and William Beekman, and ends with the reduction of New Netherlands by the English in 1664; the third part completes the civil history, and embraces the Duke of York's government and the proprietorship of William Penn and his successors.

* It is entitled,—*Beskrifning om de Svenska Forsamlingars Forna och Nara warande Tilstand, ut det sa kallade Nya Sverige, sedan Nya Nederland, men nu for tiden Pennsylvanien, samt nastliggande orter wid Alfwen Delaware, West-Jersey och New Castle County uti Norra America. Utgifwen af ISRAEL ACRELIVS, for detta Probst ofwer Svenska Forsamlingar i America och Kyrkoherde uti Fellingsbro. Stockholm, 1759.* (Description of the present and former state of the Swedish Congregations in New Sweden (so called,) since New Netherlands, and now Pennsylvania, and in the neighbouring parts on Delaware Bay, in West Jersey, and New Castle County, in North America. By Israel Acrelius, late Provost of the Swedish Churches in America, and pastor, of the church at Christina, but now Provost and pastor at Fellingsbro. Stockholm, 1759.)

The remainder of the work is chiefly taken up with the annals of the Swedish congregations under their respective pastors. Considered in its ecclesiastical character, it is probably the most complete and satisfactory account of any portion of the early American church ever published.

The following translation comprises only such portions of the civil history as relate more or less directly to the controversies with the Dutch, who had established themselves on the banks of the Delaware before the arrival of the Swedes. It was prepared at the instance of the Rev. Dr. Miller with reference to a proposed history of New-York, and deposited among the MSS. of this Society after that design was relinquished. The translator, Nicholas Collin, D. D. was the last of the succession of pastors who were sent by the government of Sweden to the churches on the Delaware. He arrived in this country from Upsal in 1771, and was at first settled at Swedesborough, (New Jersey,) but subsequently removed to Philadelphia, and for a period of forty-five years had the charge of the Swedish churches in that city and its vicinity. In general, the pastors who came over from Sweden were permitted to return after a few years, and as a recompense for their voluntary exile in the cause of religion, they became entitled to preferment at home. The celebrated Charles XII., having recalled the Rev. Eric Biork after a ministry of eleven years at Christina, declares in the mandate issued upon the occasion, that he was "to be rewarded for his long and faithful services by some comfortable situation in our kingdom;" and in announcing the appointment of two others to the same mission, adds, "these may also depend on a gracious promotion in Sweden, when they shall wish to return. We also assure the congregations and the Swedes living in the aforesaid country, of our particular and permanent royal favour; commending them to the care of the Almighty God." Dr. Collin preferred to remain in the country, where he was held in high respect during his long ministerial career by the congregations under his pastoral charge. He was also a man of letters, and enjoyed a reputation for learning and talents in a community distinguished for intellectual cultivation. Taking an active interest in scientific pursuits, Dr. Collin became an efficient member of the American Philosophical Society, and was several times elected a vice-president of that learned institution. He died at Philadelphia, the 7th of Octo-

ber, 1831, in the eighty-seventh year of his age,—“beloved,” says his eminent contemporary, Du Ponceau, “beloved, respected, and regretted.”*

On comparing Dr. Collin's translation with the original work, it will be found to consist of detached portions of the civil history of the Colony; whatever seemed irrelevant to the purposes of the New York historian being omitted, and in such a manner as to impair to a considerable extent the continuity of the narrative. It was of course written without any view to publication in a separate form, and cannot therefore be regarded as a fair specimen of the literary merits either of the author or translator. In the introductory pages, which are omitted in the translation, Acrelius recurs to the prominent events connected with the discovery and colonization of the western continent. To his own countrymen, the ancient Scandinavians, he ascribes the honour of having landed upon our shores at a period long anterior to the voyages of Columbus. “Our Swedes and Goths,” he says, “had already discovered America, in the year 996 after the birth of Christ, and given it the name of Vinland the Good.” This statement has been amply confirmed of late by the researches of the Danish antiquaries, who have spread before the world the evidence on which it rests in a manner so authentic and satisfactory, as to produce a general conviction of its truth in the minds of those who have examined the subject. In regard to the voyages of Hudson and other European navigators in the early part of the seventeenth century, Acrelius depended on an English publication of no great credit;† and has fallen into some inaccuracies. Thus he attributes the discovery of Delaware bay to a Capt. Delaware who sailed under an English admiral named *Jaques Chartiers*, in 1600, and refers Hudson's great voyage to the year 1608; he dates the settlement of Albany from 1613, and states that “Samuel Argall, a governor of Virginia, expelled the inhabitants from the river in 1618.” But in all that relates to the Swedish colony, Acrelius drew his materials from original accounts, and the utmost confidence can be placed in the general correctness of his statements.

Dr. Collin's translation ends with the recovery of New-York

* *Memoirs of the Hist. Society of Pennsylvania.* iii. 111. *Clay's Swedish Annals.* 126.

† Entitled “*The History of the New World,*” &c.

and the settlements on the Delaware by the English under the treaty of Westminster, in 1674, after which the whole was restored to the Duke of York. For the purpose of showing the condition of the country at that period, we have continued the translation two or three pages beyond, embracing a brief notice of the Duke's government.* A complete version of Acrelius would be a valuable contribution to the stock of American history; and a confident expectation has been entertained that the accomplished President of the American Philosophical Society, Peter S. Du Ponceau, would undertake the task, as an intimation to that effect was given by him in the preface to his translation of a similar work, ("Description of New Sweden, by Thomas Campanius Holm,") published a few years since in the Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. In referring to Acrelius, Mr. Du Ponceau remarks, that his history is "much more complete, and in every respect superior to that now presented to the public, to which, however, as being the oldest, the preference has, *for the present*, been given."† It is hoped that the expectation thus raised may yet be fulfilled.

We have added in relation to the subject of the Swedish settlements a document from the Dutch Colonial Records, supposed to be the report of the Commissary A. Hudde, who was sent by Governor Kieft to the Delaware in 1645.

Next follows the report of the Swedish Governor, John Claudius Rising, of the conquest by the Dutch in 1655. This document, in the original Swedish, is inserted in the appendix to Arfwedson's *Nova Suecia*, and we are indebted to George P. Marsh, Esq. of Burlington, (Vermont,) an honorary member of this Society, for the

* Pp. 111—113, original edit.

† Mem. Hist. Soc. Penn. iii. Preface.—There are several other accounts of New Sweden not yet translated, e. g.—"Dissertatio Gradualis de Plantatione Ecclesiae Svecanae," &c. by Tobias E. Biörk, Upsal, 1731. This writer cites "And. Hesselii Kort Berättelse om Svenska Kyrk, narvarande tilstand i America." Hesselius was pastor at Christina, 1711—1719. In 1825 was published at Upsal a little work, entitled "De Colonia Nova Suecia in Americam Borealem deducta Historiola," (Historical Sketch of the colony of New Sweden in North America,) by Charles David Arfwedson, now American Consul at Stockholm—a gentleman well known and highly respected in this country.

translation from a copy in his possession. Mr. Marsh is well known for his rare attainments in the philology and literature of the Scandinavian languages.

Our acknowledgments are due to the American Philosophical Society, (Philadelphia,) and to their venerable Librarian, JOHN VAUGHAN, Esq., for the loan of a copy of Acrelius, the only one within our knowledge in the country. This was presented to the Society by the late Hon. Jonathan Russell, formerly Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to Sweden. Mr. Russell likewise procured copies of numerous public documents relating to the affairs of the Swedish Colony on the Delaware, which he presented to the same institution; some of these have been since printed in Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, at Philadelphia.

Before concluding this note we cannot omit mentioning a small volume lately published, entitled "Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware, by the Rev. J. C. Clay, Rector of the Swedish Churches in Philadelphia and its vicinity," &c. This little work comprises many interesting details of the early Colony, and leads us to regret that the author did not make a more ample use of the materials to which he had access. The circumstances that induced the publication are stated by him in the following very just remarks:—"The compiler, descended on the mother's side from Swedish ancestors, felt a desire to look into their history, and to know more than he did of the occurrences connected with their first settlement on this soil. He had observed that the geographers and historians of America, while they had been very particular in detailing the circumstances connected with the arrival and settlement of the English on the James River, and of the Pilgrims in New-England, had scarcely mentioned that there was ever such a colony as the Swedes on the Delaware. He was at a loss to know why this was so; especially as their arrival here was but about thirty years after that of the English in Virginia, and but about sixteen or seventeen years after the settlement of New-England; and that, therefore, their being among the first colonies that came from Europe to America, and the very first that settled Pennsylvania, claimed for them a more particular notice."

EDITOR.

COPY OF A LETTER

From Rev. Dr. Collin, the Translator, to Rev. Dr. Miller.

PHILADELPHIA, 30th October, 1799.

DEAR SIR—Uncertain whether you were in New York during the sickness,* I omitted answering your favour, which, I hope, you will excuse.

To give you full information about the affairs of the Dutch settlement in Delaware, I have translated every thing regarding it from Acrelius. Some of his authorities I have also seen in other writings, which he quotes, as the account given by the Rev. Mr. Rudman, founder of the Swedish Church here in Philadelphia, and yet extant in its records. But Acrelius is for you a sufficient voucher; and if you find it necessary, you may quote me as translator. The quotations from the registers in the archives of New-York you have probably seen, and may again compare them.

According to the extent of your work, you can take in more or less of my communication. As his translation has cost me several days' application, I could not repeat it; and have therefore given particular charge to Mr. Maclean to send it with a very safe conveyance. With cordial wishes for the success of your laudable undertaking, I am, dear sir,

Respectfully,

Your most humble serv't,

NICHOLAS COLLIN.

To the Rev. Dr. MILLER.

* The yellow fever.

HISTORY OF NEW SWEDEN.

Individuals who were natives of Holland seem to have been instrumental in the first settlement of the Swedes on the Delaware, as appears from the following:—

Wilhelm Usselinx, a Hollander, native of Antwerp, proposed to King Gustavus Adolphus the plan of a Swedish trading company, to be extended to Asia, Africa, and Terra Magellanica. He obtained a commission, dated at Stockholm, the 21st December, 1624, for this important purpose. A contract was accordingly formed for the approbation and signature of the company. Usselinx made illustrating observations on the same, and gave ample information about the country on the Delaware, respecting its fertility, conveniency, and whatever advantages. The company received good privileges. Usselinx was to have for himself one thousandth part of all the goods which the company should buy and sell. This plan was recommended by the King to the States, and confirmed by them in the Diet of 1627. Many persons of the first rank, besides common citizens, became associates. For the execution of it, were appointed an admiral, vice-admiral, merchants, assistants, commissaries, and a military force.

This business was impeded by the rise of the German war, and the death of the King; but again revived in this manner.—A certain Hollander, Peter Menewe, or Menuet, had been in the Dutch service in America, got into disputes with the principals of the company, was recalled and displaced. He went to Sweden, and renewed the proposition of Usselinx, displaying the advantages of the country, &c. Queen Christina received them with pleasure. The Chancellor of the kingdom, so renowned, Axel Oxenstierna, patronized the enterprize, and also engaged several wealthy gentlemen in it. A favorable circumstance was, that Charles I. King of England, had in the year 1634, on the representation of the Swedish ambassador, renounced all claim to the country which the English sought for from the first discovery of it. A colony was sent out under the direction of said Menewe, as he was best acquainted with the country. It departed from Gothenburgh in two vessels, the one a man-of-war, named the *Key of Calmar*;^{*} the other a

* This is the name of a principal city in the south of Sweden.—TRANS.

lesser ship, called the Bird Grip—both being stored with provisions, ammunition and goods proper for commerce with the Indians, and donations for them. Both ships arrived in safety. Immediately land was bought from the Indians, a deed was given, and written in Low Dutch (as no Swede could yet interpret the Indian). By this agreement the Swedes obtained all the western land on the river from Cape Henlopen to the falls at Trenton, then called by the Indians *Santickan*, and as much inwards from it in breadth as they might want. This extended by subsequent contracts to the great fall in the Susquehannah, near the mouth of the Conewaga.

This colony settled about the place where Wilmington now is. Peter Menuet erected a fort in 1638, on the border of the river Christiana, about one and a half miles from its mouth in Delaware, near the place of the since erected Swedish church, and called it Christiana, in honor of the Queen.* This river is still called Christiana creek, and the vicinity Christiana.

At that time the Dutch had no establishment on the Delaware. They had erected two or three small forts heretofore, to wit: Nassau, where Gloucester now is, three miles below Philadelphia, in West Jersey, and another at Horekill in the Bay; but the Indians had destroyed them, and killed the people.† Nevertheless they claimed a right, and were anxious to secure at least all the land between Delaware and New Amsterdam (now New-York). They kept therefore some persons residing on the east side of the river, to keep a look-out on all that might visit it; and these immediately apprized the Governor General at New Amsterdam of the arrival of Menuet. He, after having waited until the schemes of Menuet appeared, when, seeing that a fortress was building on account of Sweden, issued this protest:—

“THURSDAY, 6th of May, 1638.

I, Wilhelm Kieft, Director General of the New-Netherlands, residing on the island Manhattan, in the Fort Amsterdam, under the government which appertains to the High and Mighty States General of the United Netherlands, and to the West India Company, privileged by the Senate Chamber in Amsterdam, make known to thee, Peter Menuet, who stylest thyself commander in the service of her Majesty the Queen of Sweden, that the whole South River of the New Netherlands, both the upper and the lower, has been our property for many years, occupied with forts, and sealed by our blood, which also was done when thou wast in the service of the New Nether-

* The Indians called this fort *Hopokahacking*.—TRANS.

† Adrian Vanderdonck mentions this in his *History of the New-Netherlands*, printed in 1655.—TRANS.

lands, and is therefore well known to thee. But as thou art come between our forts to erect a fort to our damage and injury, which we never will permit; as we also believe that her Swedish Majesty has not empowered thee to erect fortifications on our coasts and rivers, or to settle people on the lands adjoining, or to trade in peltry, or to undertake any other thing to our prejudice; now therefore, we protest against all such encroachments, and all the evil consequences from the same, as bloodshed, sedition, and whatever injury our trading company may suffer; and declare that we shall protect our rights in a manner that shall appear most advisable."*

Peter Menuet did thus a great service to the first Swedish colony. During three years he protected this small fort, which the Dutch never attempted. After some years he died at this place. His successor was *Peter Holländare*, a native Swede, who after one year and a half returned to Sweden, and obtained a military post there.

The second emigration from Sweden was under *John Printz*, a Swede, and lieutenant colonel in the Swedish service, appointed governor of the so called New-Sweden. He brought two vessels of war, called *Swan* and *Charitas*, and another ship called *Fama*. During his governorship came three other vessels at divers times, to wit., the ship *Black Cat*, laden with ammunition and merchandize for the Indians; afterwards the *Swan* the second time, in 1647, bringing more people; again two ships, the *Key* and the *Lamb*.

In the instructions for Governor Printz, his conduct towards the Dutch is regulated thus:—To desire a friendly meeting with the ruling officers of their company, in order to explain the designs and corresponding rights of the Swedish colony, namely, that the above mentioned western country on the river had been fairly purchased from the Indians, who were natural possessors of it; that if the Dutch would respect this title, the Swedish government would also leave them undisturbed in their legitimate possessions on the east side of the river, and those on the North river, on which Amsterdam was situated; but that in the unexpected case of any hostile interference, force should be employed for the repelling of it. To claim, in addition to this west coast, also, a part of the east from the cape up to the creek *Narraticon*, (now *Raccoon*, about twenty miles below Philadelphia), which is in this instruction said to have been purchased from the Indians by said Swedish colony.† His

* New-York Dutch Records, General Index, Lib. A.

† A preceding paragraph in the instructions relative to the English settled on the east side, explains this matter. About sixty families of that nation are said to be residing about a creek called *Ferkens*, (probably *Salem*, 36 miles below Philadelphia, which in old times was called *Farkens-creek*.) To prevent

orders with respect to such of the Dutch who had resorted to New Sweden, and there settled under Swedish authority (having also Jost von dem Boyandh for chief, or municipal director), were to respect all the privileges granted them, and to hold them to their corresponding obligations; and although they had been ordered to remove further from the fort Christiana, from which their settlement was but three Swedish (twenty English) miles distant, yet to dispense with the execution of it, if he thought proper; otherwise to dispose in a manner he thought best for the Swedish service, and in general to treat them with kindness.

Governor Printz established his residence on Tenackong, (now called Tinnicum) eleven or twelve miles below Philadelphia, an island formed by the river and a creek. A neat church was also constructed there of wood. Many of the principal Swedes had also their habitations there.

The Dutch endeavoured to extend their settlement on the east side of the river. In 1646, one Thomas Broen came with permission from the Dutch Director in New Amsterdam, Peter Stuyvesant, to establish himself on Mantua's Hook, opposite to Tenockong (the mouth of the creek yet called Mante's creek.) This permission he presented to Governor Printz, with petition of his aid to build a residence. The governor promised, on condition of his settling under Swedish jurisdiction. But on his refusal, and discovering the designs of the Dutch, he bought himself from the Indians the land from said Mantuas Hook to Narraticon (now Raccoon creek, about eight miles wide) and there erected a pillar with the Swedish arms engraved.

Andries Hudde, appointed pro tempore commandant on Fort Nassau, 8th September, made a protest in writing against this purchase, and informed the Director Stuyvesant of it, and also that Governor Printz intended to purchase the whole country on the east side of the river; with the observation, that by possessing both sides he would be able to export 30,000 or 40,000 beaver skins every year. As the Dutch had neither time nor money for effectual opposition, they adopted this scheme.—Simon Ruth, Cornelius Marizen, Peter Hermanson, Andries Hudde, Alexander Boyer, and David Davids joined in purchasing from the Indians a piece of land from Ancocus creek (in West Jersey, about twelve or thirteen miles above Philadelphia)

more from settling, the Swedes are said to have purchased the land from the Indians. The governor is directed to bring these families under the Swedish jurisdiction by gentle means—the rather as they should have signified a wish to be under any power capable of protecting them; but in case this could not be done, to prevail upon them to move for a proper compensation, which would be more eligible.—TRANS.

to Tenecongh,* and took a deed of the same, but with condition of giving up their right to the Company, if desired, on receiving the sum paid. Gov. Printz protested against this. Peter Stuyvesant, in his answer to those persons, laments the weakness of the Dutch Company to defend its rights, and promises money to buy the land from Raccoon down to the bay, which, however, never happened.

As Governor Printz had precluded the free access to Fort Nassau by the fort on Tinnecum below it, the Dutch endeavoured to repair this misfortune in the following manner :—They bought from the Indians all the land between Manigvas,† or Mingvas creek, and Bonties or Bambo-Hook (Canarossee) and got a deed for it 19th July, 1651. This contract is the only one ever made in the name of the States General and the West India Company. But in this very act, they purchased a district which the Minquessis‡ had sold to the Swedes already, in the time of Menewe. Immediately afterwards they erected fort Casimir|| on Sandhook. Governor Printz made positive remonstrances against it, but in vain.

To prevent the bad effects of it, said governor erected another fort, which he named Elfsborg, on the place called by the Indians Wootsessung, one Swedish mile below Sandhook, and two below Christiana on the west side. (The district is accordingly still called Elsingborgh.) Here the Swedish salute was fired on the arrival of Swedish vessels.—But the main intent was to visit the Dutch vessels which passed, and oblige them to lower the colours, which greatly affronted them. The fort was afterwards deserted and demolished by the Swedes themselves, because the multitude of mosquitoes was insupportable. (It was called jocosely Myggenborg, or the fort of the mosquitoes : mygga, in Swedish, meaning a mosquito.)

The Dutch Governor had raised the coat of arms of the States at Santhickan, (Trenton,) but Printz ordered one of his officers to tear it down. On remonstrance to him, how he dared to do so, the officer answered, that if the standard of the States of Holland had been erected, he would have pulled it down.—This happened 8th September, 1646.

However jealous the Dutch were of the Swedes, both were united when required in keeping the English from the Delaware. These had already made some attempts, and had formed a claim on the country west of the said river, as being the

* This was higher up than Tenackong, where Governor Printz resided, now well known.—TRANS.

† Christiana.

‡ Indians of those parts.

|| New-Castle, five miles below Wilmington.

back part of Virginia. The year before the arrival of Governor Printz, they had fortified a place on Schuylkill. The Dutch Commissary on fort Nassau got these orders for their expulsion:—

“May 22, 1642. So soon as the sloops Real and St. Martin arrive, he, Jan Jansson Upendam, shall go aboard (if necessary he may collect more forces) and enter the Schuylkill, and approach the place of which the English have lately taken possession, demanding by what authority they presume to deprive us of our land and trade? If they have not any royal commission, either in original or genuine copy, he shall, in complainant manner, desire them to withdraw, for preventing of bloodshed. If they refuse, he shall make them prisoners, and carry them aboard of the sloops; and for the rest, take care to preserve dominion, and to defend the honour of the High and Mighty States, and of the honourable West India Company. When the English are removed, he shall entirely demolish that place. He shall provide that the English may lose nothing of their property, and therefore make a complete inventory in their presence. Done in our council at the fort of Amsterdam.” Adrian Van der Donck testifies that the Swedes aided.

“There is another creek on the east side of the river, called Varcken's creek, (Salem) where some English were settled.—The Director Kieft expelled them after a proper remonstrance, being in part aided by the Swedes; for they had both agreed to expel the English.”

These enterprises of the Dutch were, however, unimportant. A few unarmed English families were easily destroyed. How insignificant their establishment on the Delaware was, appears from this:—Jan Janssen Upendam, who commanded at Fort Nassau, was, the 12th of October, 1646, cited to New Amsterdam, to account for goods entrusted to him by the Company and some individuals. Andries Hudden was sent to Nassau to examine his books, and to send back what goods were not wanted; but himself to remain a commandant until further orders, and to repair the fort the same year. He found the magazines in such bad condition, that Upendam mentions in his account only two bales of Harlem cloth, and two beaver skins, as the whole stock under his charge during the whole time. Andries Hudden, then appointed commandant ad interim of said fort Nassau, supplicated, the 1st December, 1654, the governor and his council in New Amsterdam, for the office of schoolmaster; but the matter was referred to the clergy and consistory. Not being accepted, he was, by way of compensation, appointed secretary of government at Altona, (Christina) and also clerk of the parish.

Governor Printz went home in 1642, and appointed his son-in-law, Johan Pappegoia, vice-governor.

1654. The ship *Eagle* came from Sweden, and brought with her a reinforcement of colonists Johan Claudii Rising,* as commissary and counsellor of the governor; also an engineer, Peter Lindstroem, several officers with some troops, and a clergyman. On their arrival, they stopped at fort Casimir, gave two salutes, and demanded the surrender of the fort, as erected on Swedish ground. As the commandant delayed an answer, Rising landed thirty soldiers, and took it without bloodshed.—An inventory was made of every thing in the fort. Every person was permitted to carry away what he had, whether it belonged to the company, or to individuals. The people had their choice either to remove, or to remain, and be protected in their rights, on taking the oath of allegiance to the crown of Sweden. This happening on Trinity Sunday, the fort was called Fort Trinity. It was afterwards, according to the plan of engineer Lindstroem, almost rebuilt anew much stronger. The vice-governor, Pappegoia, went home, and said Rising obtained the supreme authority, taking the title of Director General over New Sweden.

The Dutch were intent on revenge with the first opportunity. A Swedish ship, called the *Golden Shark*, coming to reinforce the colony, and to bring goods, under command of captain and supercargo Daswick, was obliged by some accident to enter the river Raritan, expecting no harm from the Dutch; but was made a prisoner notwithstanding his remonstrances.

The 30th August, 1655. The Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, came with seven larger and smaller vessels, and between six and seven hundred men, from New Amsterdam into Delaware. He first demanded Fort Trinity, (Casimir) and after some demur from the commandant Sven Schute, got it by capitulation, of which the principal articles were these :—

“The commandant shall have leave to send to Sweden with first opportunity the cannons belonging to the crown of Sweden, being in all nine.

“He shall march out with twelve men in perfect accoutrements, as his life-guard, with the colours of the crown; but the other soldiers shall only have their side-arms.

“The muskets that belong to the crown shall remain in the fort until they are sent for.

“The commandant and officers shall retain their private property, either removing it immediately, or leaving it till further opportunity.

“The fort shall be given up with all the cannons, ammunition,

* Rising had been secretary in the Board of Commerce in Sweden.—TRANS.

materials, and other goods that belong to the honourable West India Company.

"Done 16th September, 1655, aboard the ship Wagh, near Fort Casimir."

After this, the Dutch came over land to Christiana, approaching on the back of it, and after a few days' negotiation, got it without bloodshed by capitulation. The principal articles were—

"All the cannons, ammunition, provisions, stock and articles, which belong to the crown of Sweden and the West India Company, found in the fort, shall appertain to them, and be under the disposition of Governor Rising, to remove the same directly, or leave it in the care of Governor Stuyvesant, to be delivered on demand.

"The governor, with all his officers, military and civil, and soldiers, shall march out of the fort, with all their arms, military music, colours, and other military honours. They shall first be safely conducted to the island Timnecuck, and lodged in the fort there, until Governor Stuyvesant departs, and then they shall be carried to Sandy Huck (this the same as Sandy Hook), and there kept in safe custody at least fourteen days. The governor and factor Elswyck shall be allowed four or five servants in mean time.

"All writings, letters, instructions, and documents belonging to the Swedish crown, the company, and individuals, found in the fort, shall remain in the hands of the governor, to be taken away at pleasure, without being examined.

"None of the officers, soldiers, attendants, belonging to the crown or the company, nor any individuals shall be retained against their will, but may all, if they please, depart with the governor.

"All persons, whether appertaining to the crown and company, or private, shall retain all their property, without molestation.

"If any persons, though willing to depart, are not able to go with the governor, they shall obtain a time of one year and six weeks, to dispose of their lands and moveables, except they in that time choose allegiance to the Dutch government.

"If any of the Swedes and Finns* are unwilling to depart, the Governor Rising may use means of persuasion; and if persuaded, they shall not be forcibly detained. Those who remain shall have liberty to adhere to the Augsburgian Confession, and to retain a teacher for their instruction.

"Governor Rising, the factor Elswyck, with others, officers, soldiers, and individuals, who wish to depart, shall by the Governor Stuyvesant be provided with a good ship, which shall

* The Finns have a different language, but make one nation with the Swedes.
—TRANS.

take them in at Sandy Huck, and bring them to Texel, and from thence immediately in a coaster, galliot, or other proper vessel, to Gotheborg* without freight, on condition that such vessel shall not be detained, for which Governor Rising shall be responsible.

"In case Governor Rising, Factor Elswyck, or any other officer belonging to the crown or the company, has contracted any debt on account of the crown or company, they shall not be detained within the jurisdiction of the governor general.

"Governor Rising has perfect liberty to inform himself about the conduct of the commandant Sven Schute, with that of the officers and men, in surrendering Fort Casimir.

"Governor Rising stipulates on this day to withdraw his people from the fort Christiana, and deliver it up to the governor general.

"Done and signed the $7\frac{1}{2}$ Sept. 1655, on the parade between Fort Christiana and the camp of the governor general.

"PETER STUYVESANT,

"JOHAN RISING, *Director over New Sweden.*"

Secret article.—"It is further agreed, that the captain who is to conduct Governor Rising and Factor Elswyck, shall be expressly ordered to put them ashore in England or France, and that the governor general shall lend to Director General Rising, in money, or bills of exchange, a sum of three hundred pounds Flemish, which he promises to repay to said governor general or his order in Amsterdam in six months after the receipt. In mean time he leaves as equivalent the goods of the crown and of the company. Of this we make two obligations. Signed $7\frac{1}{2}$ September, 1655, on the parade between, &c.

"PETER STUYVESANT,

"JOHAN RISING."

On receiving the money, Rising was obliged to consent that the goods owned should be sold, if not redeemed in six months. Both parties retained what they had got—the one the money, the other the goods.

Rising did not return immediately. His account of New Sweden, calculated to animate his victorious king, Charles Gustavus, to its recovery, is dated Elbingen, 3d June, 1656. Afterwards a proclamation was issued, in which all those who desired to remain were convoked to take an oath of allegiance, and all the rest to remove, with liberty to sell or carry off their property. The form of the oath was: "I undersigned promise and swear, in the presence of the omniscient and omnipotent God, that I will be faithful and obedient unto the States General of the United Netherlands, the director general and his council,

† Gothenburg on the North Sea.

the present and future, and remain without aiding in any hostile enterprise or sedition, either in words or deeds against the same ; but shall conduct myself as a faithful and obedient subject, so long as I remain in this South river in the New Netherlands. So help me Almighty God."

The Swedes suffered great hardships from the Dutch. The flower of their troops were picked out, and sent to New Amsterdam ; though under the pretext of their free choice, the men were forcibly carried aboard the ships. The women were ill-treated* in their houses, the goods pillaged, and the cattle killed. Those who refused allegiance were watched, as suspicious. That this ill usage took place, appears from the testimonies given by Rising to those who had suffered, several of which were preserved in the original. The Dutch have in vain endeavoured to defend their aggression by allegation that the Swedish establishment was but by a private company—because the whole was undertaken under the authority and protection of the government.

All the bargains for land that the Dutch had made with Indians were there very inconsiderable :—

Samuel Goodyn and Samuel Bloemart purchased Cape May from the Indians, and named the bay Goodyn's Bay. This land extended four miles from the cape southwards on the bay ; four miles inwards from the water ; and thus contained sixteen Dutch square miles. The purchase was made 5th of May, 1630, and was confirmed by the Dutch governor and his council 3d January, 1631.

Abraham Planck, Simon Ruth, Jan Andriessen, and Peter Hermanssen obtained, 10th August, 1646, one hundred morgens of land on the west side of the river, opposite Egg Island, on condition of improving it, bearing allegiance to the Dutch government, &c. ; but these men never came there.

Of the bargain made by Simon Ruth and others for the land from Ancocus to Tenecongh† mention is made above. The company had no money to redeem this of the purchaser, as they offered.

The Dutch company had proposed to buy the land from Raccoon to the bay, but it was never done. The company bought land for Fort Casimir, 19th July, 1651. This land was between the river and Minquas (Christina) creek, from its mouth to Canarosse (Bambo Hook).

The weakness of the Swedes accounts for this easy conquest. Sweden was too distant, and too deeply involved in the

* I have used "ill-treated" as most proper for the Swedish word of *Arelius*. It does not clearly imply any insult on their chastity, but pillage, &c.—*TRANS.*

† Tenecongh, or similar words, probably mean simply an island, and are thus applied to several places.—*TRANS.*

long wars with the Emperor, Poland, and Denmark. There was also some danger on the passage from Spanish cruisers, as Spain was then in alliance with the Emperor and Poland.—Moreover it must be allowed that the Swedes behaved in some respects haughtily towards the Dutch.

The crown of Sweden ceded its commercial rights to England, by virtue of the treaty of Westminster, dated 27th July, 1656.* Sweden did not make any formal session to Holland; and the whole dispute was no further noticed, than in the treaty of the Hague, 18th July, 1667, thus:—"Controversias autem, quæ inter Societatem Sveco-Americanam dictam, et Societatem Indiæ Occidentalis Fæderati Belgii intercedunt, ratione damnorum, qua sibi a sese invicem in America illata esse prætendunt, secundum justitiæ et æquitatis regulas cum dictæ Sanct. Reg. Majs. a legato-comitis quantocius examinandas, desuper transigendum, parti læsæ confestim et sine mora satisfaciendum esse, statutum atque decretum est."

OF THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT.

The country on both sides of the river was now in the power of the Dutch. The river was called *Suydt* river (South river.) The Governor General Stuyvesant resided in Manathan, or New Amsterdam. His authority was over all military, commercial and judicial affairs. All officers had their commissions from, and were accountable to, him. When he departed, after the conquest, he appointed Captain Deryk Smidt commissary, or interim-commandant over the river. Immediately on his return to New Amsterdam, he issued a commission, 29th November, 1655, for Johan Paul Jaquet to be governor. His office was to take care of the trade, and keep order among the people. He chose Fort Casimir for his residence. Andrias Hudde became his counsellor, Almerhausen Klein secretary, &c.

The country on the west side of the river was divided into two colonies:—From Christiana creek down to Bonties or Bambo-Hook, and between the said creek and the river, together with the fort Christina, and a piece of land about it, was the *colony of the Company*. The remainder on the north side of Christina creek, and upwards on the river, belonged to the city of Amsterdam, and was governed by its burgomasters and coun-

*Quoad commercium in America habendum, id quidem lege diserte cautum est, ne cujus vis præterea Reipublicæ subditi sine peculiari licentia commercium illic promiscue habendi potestas fiat. Siquis autem subditorum Sere. Regis Sveciæ ejusdem literis commendatitiis munitus, hanc sibi licentiam privatim, ad eas quaslibet colonias petiverit, Dominus Protector, quo ad rerum et Reipublicæ status pro tempore permiserit, haud invitus hac in parte Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis Sveciæ desiderio satis fiat. *Fædus Angl. cum Suecia.*

cil, through Peter Stuyvesant, their general governor, and his council; and was called the *colony of the City*. The foundation of this distinction was laid when Fort Casimir was erected, though the execution was prevented by the power of the Swedes. Before, all transactions were in the name of the States General and the West-India Company; but now their affairs became separate. Deeds on the territory of the city were given in Amsterdam by the burgomasters and council; but deeds on the land of the company by directors and commissaries. A small town was formed near Casimir on Sandhook, and was called *Newer Amstel*. Christina got the name of Altona. Some Dutch Jews requested leave to settle and trade on the river, of whom two only were permitted.

Of the Swedes only nineteen swore allegiance, among whom were Sven Schute, and Anders Jurgen, a Finn. The others who remained, got their habitations within the colony of the city, north of Christina, and so up the river. Over them was appointed an inspector Goeran Van Dyke, with title of *Schout Fiscal*, and under him the above Anders Jurgen.

The sixth article of the governor's instructions directs, "that the Swedes should not be permitted to remain in the forts during night;" and the twelfth of the same, "that a watchful eye should be kept on them, and that any who might be found seditious, should immediately be sent to New Amsterdam."—Some Swedes established on the other district requested a prolongation of the time (a year and six weeks) to prepare for their departure; but obtained only a conditional consent to remove into the new town, and remain there.† Others were suspected of secret negotiations with the Indians, because these still visited the Swedish houses, and were entertained as usual. Sven Schute and Jacob Svenske, as most obnoxious, were accordingly sent off to New Amsterdam. This cunning measure was often employed by the Dutch, who seemed to fear their own shadow.

The attachment of the Indians continued in spite of the revolution, of which the following is a specimen:—The 24th of March, 1656, the Swedish ship *Mercurius* came into the river, not knowing of the change, having a new supply of people for the colony. The Dutch forbid them to go up. But a party of Indians joined, went aboard, and conducted it by fort Casimir to Christina. The Dutch did not fire a gun against them; but resolved to dismiss it, sending it first to New Amsterdam to take in provisions.‡ One of the two clergymen who then came, to wit, Anders Bengtson, remained in the country.

* General Index, N. Y. Records. Lib. C. p. 185.

† Ibid. Lib. O. p. 17.

‡ Ibid. Lib. C. p. 347.

This Dutch colony was very weak until the spring of 1656, when several parties came from New Amsterdam to settle here. It was then first that the governor general and his council gave deeds of land, seventy-five in all, till the end of August. These grounds were small—the greater part of them only lots in New Amstel. The Dutch did not mind agriculture; besides labourers could not be had; and orders were given that sixteen or twenty families should settle together, for the sake of safety; which, however, was only observed about Fort Casimir. A yearly rent of twelve *stivers* was paid for every morgen.* Within the district of the Swedes no deeds were given at this time; yet a yearly tax of five or six *gyllen* was laid on every family, agreeably to the project of the *schoute*.† The current coin of the Dutch in the New Netherlands were *gyllen*, or florins, thus: a Dutch florin passed here for five until 1700; afterwards for six, but variably, as English money was then circulating. The Indian trade brought into vogue their wampum, (oval pearls of clam-shells, white and brown). The brown had a double value of the white. Six of these and three of those were equal to a *styver*; twenty *styvers* to a *gyllen*; five *gyllen* to one Dutch ditto. Sometimes the Indians had strings a fathom long of these wampum. The Dutch called wampum *sewant*.

The Indians desired the governor Jacquet to make certain regulations of the trade; that the Dutch should purchase all the peltry that they could bring, and pay one blanket for two deer skins. He answered, that as yet he had not orders to form a treaty. In the mean time, they obtained presents by contribution of the inhabitants, in which some of the Swedes bore a part.

Divers municipal regulations were made 23d February, 1656:—to fence fields and lots before medium Mart, under a fine of six *gyllen*; to guard goats by herdsman, or pay the damage done by them; not to enter the fort by land or water without leave; not to settle between Fort Casimir and Christiana, in order to save the wood for the town and fort. 22d May, the same year—"that all the swine should be yoked within twenty-four hours, or be killed by the soldiers."

The administration of Jacquet lasted little above a year. Many complaints were made against him, which his successor ascribed principally to hatred. Nevertheless the governor general and his council sent him letters of dismission, which contain reproaches for incapacity, 20th April, 1657. After Jacquet, Jacob Alrich was appointed in Holland governor over the colony of the city. His commission was given by the

* General index N. Y. Records, Liber H. H.

† Ibid. Liber R.

burgomasters and council in Amsterdam, 19th December, 1656, and renewed in Fort Amsterdam in the New Netherlands, 12th April, 1657. His residence was at New Amstel. The Swedes were still governed by a schout and commissioners. On the proposal of the schout Göran Van Dyke, the governor general made an offer to them by proclamation, 12th June, 1657, to assemble themselves into one settlement, and erect a town on Upland (Chester), or Passayung (below Philadelphia, between the Delaware and Schuylkill), or Finland (Marcus Hook, four miles below Chester), or Kingsessing (between the Schuylkill and Darby), or where they pleased; but they did not approve of this offer.*

The 28th October, 1658, William Beekman, alderman in Amsterdam, was appointed vice-governor over the colony of the company; and was to reside at Altona, from whence all his letters are dated. He administered the company's trade, commanded the garrison, levied the customs upon vessels arriving at New Amstel, and superintended the Swedes. Andreas Hudde became his secretary, and clerk at the divine worship held at Altona. Though Alrich and Beekman had separate governments, they frequently acted in each other's jurisdictions: Alrich frequently distributed deeds for lands that belonged to the company, and Beekman officiating within the colony of the city.

It was a long time before the Dutch settled among the Swedes. The only deeds they gave among them, were two for plantations near Altona, and one for a mill built in the vicinity, which was to grind for the garrison. Beekman had orders from Stuyvesant to extend the company's colony from Bonties Hook to Cape Henlopen. He was to consult with Alrich and others, and inquire what Indians were true proprietors, and judge what price was reasonable. Alrich had also orders to fortify the country at Horekill. Alrich made many difficulties in his answer to Stuyvesant; that both money and men were wanting for erecting and defending a fort; that such a fort would be useless, while the country about it was vacant and wild; that the few cultivators had suffered from scarce harvest that year, and could spare no supplies. Beekman, seeing the inactivity of Alrich, went to the Horekill, in company with Lieutenant Alexander Hinoyosa; made a purchase from the Indians, 23d May, 1659, and got a deed of it; threw up a fort, and put in what soldiers he could get. Trade was carried on by Alrich at New Amstel, Peter Alrich on Horekill, and Israel Helm at Passayung. Toll was paid both on exports and imports. The reason of this enterprise was, that two boats, with

* N. Y. Records, Lib. E. (The references to N. Y. Records are in the original work.)

fourteen English persons, from Virginia, had come to settle there. They were attacked by the Indians, and delivered by the Dutch. But to prevent the like, it was deemed necessary to secure the country.

A rumor arose that the English from Maryland intended an attack. Lord Baltimore, its proprietor, wanted to determine the yet unfixed frontier: pretended to extend his right to two miles (I know not what miles) from New Amstel; and gave deeds on lands in the vicinity. His governor, Josiah Fendel, sent Colonel Utie with five other gentlemen to New Amstel to deliver his pretensions. These were admitted into the fort, and remained there four nights. During that time their mutual claims were canvassed. Beekman was also present. The meeting ended with harsh words on both sides; but Stuyvesant disapproved of the first friendly reception, and complained to the company of Alrich for having admitted such dangerous strangers within his premises.

Alrich's administration proved hurtful to the colony. His avarice and severity obliged many Dutch families to remove to Maryland, and many soldiers to desert. Finally, only ten soldiers remained in Fort Casimir, and five at Horekill. The inhabited part of the company's colony did not extend beyond two Dutch miles from the fort at the close of 1659. Stuyvesant, in his letter to the company in September of that year, represented the probability of England soon conquering the country by the aid of the Swedes, as Holland was then disturbed; and desired them to send exiled Poles, Prussians, and Flemish peasants to settle the country. The 4th March, 1660, he also sent Andries Lawrenson to recruit the garrison among the Swedes and Finns, promising them from eight to twelve gyllen as listing money. To those who had fled to Maryland and Virginia from their creditors, he promised a pass, and security from payment during four years. But little was effected by these means.*

Stuyvesant had a deep-fixed jealousy that the Swedes had a dislike against the Dutch, and attachment to the English. Though all the Swedish families were only 130, according to the list given in by the schout, they made a majority of the inhabitants, and were therefore formidable. He therefore positively ordered, that all the Swedes should collect into small towns; and proposed Passayung as most proper, being a pleasant and fruitful territory. Beekman, to whom the execution was committed, endeavoured to persuade them, but in vain; nor had he sufficient power to compel. In his answer to Stuyvesant he represented it as unmerciful to force people from

* N. Y. Records, Lib. G, p. 116.

their cultivated lands, and put them to new labour and expense. Some of the Swedes had emigrated from the company's colony into that of the city, in which Hinoyosa had procured them better privileges. Others had moved to Sassafras river, but molested by the Indians had returned; and these added strength. Beckman therefore requested Stuyvesant to repeal his order, and to provide the Swedes with Dutch books, in order to reconcile them better. This he had before proposed, but in vain.

The wife of Pappegoia, and daughter of Governor Printz, lived still in Tenakongh. With all the advantages of that seat, she was so poor from want of labourers, that the Dutch government granted her a small aid, which for some time was an ox and some hogs, both fattened, and sufficient grain for bread yearly. Finally she returned to Sweden.*

The 30th December, 1659, Jacob Alrich died, and appointed *ad interim* Alexander Hinoyosa his successor, and Gert Van Gizet his secretary. Hinoyosa immediately sequestered all the writings of his predecessor, and took extracts from them. Next day he convened his council, and proved that Alrich had acted contrary to his instructions in thirty or forty articles, and thus would have forfeited both life and estate, if he had lived. But in this few could agree.

The company had found the profits of their trade very inferior to the expenses of the *officiants*, and of the treaties and wars with the Indians. The officers were deeply interested. It was difficult to prevent private trading, in spite of severe prohibitions. The English on Long Island also carried on a constant smuggling here. For these reasons, the company surrendered all its rights to the colony of the city, 7th February, 1663. It was stipulated that the fort at Christiana should also belong to it, on condition that the settlers about it should be maintained in their privileges; that the government of the city should send another garrison, in exchange for the one that belonged to the company, in order to defend the colony against the Indians and the English; that the space of a mile should be cleared and settled every year; that the agents of the city should never be permitted to dispose of this country to any others, in whole or in part, on penalty of thus forfeiting all their rights.

On this the whole South River was delivered to Governor Hinoyosa, by the patent of Governor General Stuyvesant and his council, 22d December, 1663: yet under condition to govern agreeably to the laws of the States General, and the regulations of the West India company, and for its advantage. But previous to this he had administered the government in company

* N. Y. Records, Lib. R. Beckman's letter to Stuyvesant, 25th January, 1660. (Beckman's letters are among the colonial records at Albany.—Ed.)

with Beekman during three years, from the death of Alrich. His council were, 25th January, 1660, Johan Crato, secretary, Van Svecaring, schout, Mr. Williams, surgeon, and Hans Block, constable.*

The accusations of Hinoyosa against his predecessor, with the sequestration of his documents and property, caused great disturbance. Cornelius Van Gizel petitioned Stuyvesant, to obtain disposition of the property according to the testament. Several examinations and correspondences were had on this. Finally, Hinoosa was ordered under threats of punishment, to cease from all opposition.†

At this time trade was carried on in peltries with the Indians, and in tobacco with Virginia. As a proof of amity between the Dutch and English, then it was that Stuyvesant sent to the governor of Virginia presents of French wine, &c.‡ Peter Alrich was by Hinoyosa appointed commandant of Horekill fort, with exclusive privilege of trade with the Indians from Bonties Hook to Cape Henlopen, over which the Swedes greatly murmured.§

In 1663, there was great fear of those Indians called Senecas. Some parties of these came down from the country and committed terrible murders. The Mynquessies, who held with the Christians, resisted, but were insufficient. Christiana fort was much out of repair, and so destitute of provisions that it had not above a dozen of musquet balls, and not a single flint. The small-pox made great havock among the Indians that year; it was a disease hitherto unknown among them. Mischievous persons advised them to wash their bodies in the river, by means of which many perished.

While two colonies were kept up, Beekman had a share in the administration; but he was little considered. This made him envious of Hinoyosa whom he aspersed in frequent letters to Stuyvesant, alleging that he had burnt the palisades under the brew kettle, sold the muskets to the Indians, sold the mill-stones of the town, and even the company's right in Maryland for tobacco.¶ By all this he effected little. When Hinoyosa became sole governor by the company ceding its colony, Beekman was obliged to petition Stuyvesant that he might not be removed in the winter, and without promotion; in which case he should be under necessity of going to Maryland which would not be agreeable to the Dutch Government.¶ Stuyvesant offered him to remain at Altona, cultivate the land, and keep five or six servants; but he had no prospect of benefit from this, because no settler had liberty of trading either with the Indians or

* N. Y. Records, Lib. R.

† Ibid. Lib. G.

‡ Ibid. Lib. R.

§ N. Y. Records, Lib. R. ¶ Letter dated Altona, 6 Dec. 1663.

¶ Beekman's Letter, 21st December, 1663.

English. He had, however, been informed that Hinoyosa had obtained a right to half of the country and of the trade. The preceding year fifty labourers had arrived in the double quality of peasants and soldiers for yearly wages of an hundred guilders, with six or seven women to manage their houses. These had stipulated in Holland to serve certain years for the passage; but Hinoyosa had hired out some for sixty to eighty guilders yearly wages, for his own advantage; also, that Hinoyosa intended to make his residence on Apoquimini, (a creek below New Castle,) erect a metropolis there, and bring all the English commerce to himself. *It is uncertain how far these things were founded. Finally, Beekman was settled on the North river, as commissary or schout over Arosapha, (Æsopus,) July 4, 1664.

The Dutch government took little care of the public worship. On Sandhook stood a small wooden church for a while, but without regular attendance. Lars Lorkenius, a Swedish clergyman, was the only one in that country; he served both the Swedes and the Dutch. A student, Abelius Selskoorn, came to the country, and for some time performed divine worship at Sandhook, went to New Amsterdam, and got a call from Stuyvesant; he was also approved by the burgomasters of the Augsburg Confession for ordination to the ministry, with promise of equal pay with Lorkenius. However, he never had charge of any congregation on South river as a regularly ordained clergyman.

CONQUEST BY THE ENGLISH.

When the English had taken New Amsterdam and the other places on the North river, they also took possession of the colony on the Delaware. Fort Casimir was then the only fortified place, and capitulated without any bloodshed. In the capitulation the common people only were included, but not the officers, civil or military. They took an oath of allegiance to the king of England, and retained their houses and prerogatives undisturbed.—The Swedes were also maintained in the Lutheran religion and their public worship, as was their earnest desire. Fort Casimir was then called New Castle.

In the war which England and France jointly commenced against Holland, the Dutch, though much pressed at home, were victorious at sea. Admiral Evertse, junior, ruined almost the whole French and English navigation from Newfoundland to Barbadoes; and in August, 1673, took New York by storm. The then military council extended the Dutch domin-

* Beekman's letter, 21 Dec. 1663.

ion to the old pretensions, and accordingly obliged both civil and military officers within those limits to swear allegiance to the States General and the Prince of Orange. Anthony Colve was then appointed governor-general over New-York and its dependencies. He placed Peter Alrich as commandant over the Delaware, yet subordinate under the governor general. He took an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants. The first article of his official instruction was :—"He shall support the true Christian doctrine, such as it accords with the Synod of Dortrecht, and not permit any doctrine repugnant to it." Thus a scheme was formed this time to overthrow the Augsburg Confession.*

But this second dominion was quickly ended by the peace of Westminster, 19th February, 1674, the sixth article of which declares : "that whatever lands, towns, forts, &c. had been reciprocally taken since the beginning of the war, should be restored to their former possessors." Accordingly New-York was restored to the English, 31st October, 1674.

(About the taking of New-York, Acrelius speaks briefly, and does not cite his authorities. An English squadron with 300 troops aboard took New-Amsterdam and its fort, 6th September, 1664, expelling Stuyvesant, who then was lame and made use of a silver leg. Thirteen days afterward, Sir Robert Carr took Aurania, and after twelve days, Arosapha—all this without losing a man. The colony of New Amsterdam extended then ten miles east from the North river, and westward within three miles of the Delaware.—TRANS.)

THE DUKE OF YORK'S GOVERNMENT.†

The province of New-York comprehended at this time all the country that lay between New-England and Delaware river, and was bestowed upon James, Duke of York, as a mark of honour for his valour displayed on board the English fleet which he commanded against the Dutch in the late war. In addition to his he had also the three lower counties, as they were called on the other side of the Delaware, namely, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, by a separate grant. The administration was conducted in the mean time by a governor in the name of the Duke of York, for the prince himself never came

New-York Records, Lib. Z.

† This notice of the Duke's government was omitted in Dr. Collin's translation; as it is brief and not without interest, we have thought best to supply the omission.—Ed.

to this country. Under the government of New-York was included the west side of the Delaware, which was sometimes called New Virginia, but for the most part the settlements on the Delaware. Here the Swedish and Dutch families had their abodes; but as yet there were no inhabitants on the east side of the river, which afterwards was called Jersey, the land being barren, boggy and disagreeable, nor did West Jersey obtain any inhabitants under the Duke of York's government.

Under the Swedish government deeds of lands were not given, at least there are no traces of any, except those which were granted by Queen Christina. The Dutch indeed issued a great many after the year 1656, but the greatest part of them were for lands about Sandhook. No rents were in the mean time received, since the land was neglected and the inhabitants indolent, so that the products were little more than sufficient for their subsistence. When the English government commenced, all were summoned to New-York to receive deeds for the land which they either had taken up, or intended to take up. The grants were made by the governor in the Duke of York's name; the rents were a bushel of wheat for one hundred acres, if so demanded. A part of the inhabitants took deeds; others gave themselves no trouble about the matter, except that they agreed with the Indians for tracts of land in exchange for a gun, a kettle, or a fur jacket, and the like; and they likewise sold them again to others for the same price, as land was abundant, inhabitants few, and the government not vigorous. Hence it appears that in law-suits respecting titles to land, they relied upon the Indian right, which prevailed when it could be proved. The deeds given by the Swedes contained a condition, "so long as the grantees continued subject to the government." Many who took deeds for large tracts of land, repented of it from fear of the after demand of rents, (which, however, were very light when the people cultivated their lands, but sufficiently burdensome when they derived no profit therefrom,) and on that account transferred the largest part of them to others, which their descendants at the present day exceedingly regret.

Some few English families came in, and were the only ones that were willing to pay any thing for tracts of land, but the Indians regarded them as a different kind of people, showing them less favour, as they were less acquainted with them, which often occasioned serious disturbances. The people lived in great quiet, but extreme indolence. No agriculture, no trade was pursued, more than was necessary to supply their absolute wants. The Duke of York had little more than nominal returns, but this is no matter of surprise, since the troubles in England continued, and the succession to the throne placed him in the greatest embarrassment.

REPORT

OF ANDREAS HUDDE, COMMISSARY ON THE DELAWARE.

From the Dutch Colonial Records.

A short but faithful declaration of the procedures of John Printz, governor of the Swedish troops on the South (or Delaware) river, in New Netherlands, and of the possession taken by the Swedes on the same river, as it was ascertained, on the 1st November, 1645.

The truth as regards the possession of the Swedes on the South river in New Netherlands, is as follows:—

At the entrance of the river, taken from its mouth three miles upwards, on the east shore, is a fort named Elsenburgh, usually garrisoned with twelve men commanded by a lieutenant, having four guns, iron and brass, of twelve lbs. iron, one *pots-hooft*; which fort was not constructed before, but built by the aforesaid John Printz, a short while after he arrived on the aforesaid river. By means of this fort the aforesaid Printz closes the entrance of the river, so that all vessels, either those arrived from hence,* or other places, are compelled to cast their anchor, not excepting those of the noble company as is evident from several yachts coming from the Mannhattans, which, wishing to pursue their voyage towards the place of their destination without stopping often, were injured by cannon balls, and were in imminent danger of losing some of their crew; so that they must proceed with small craft upwards of six miles towards the aforesaid Printz, to obtain his consent that they may sail higher up the river, no matter whether they are Englishmen or Netherlanders, without paying any regard to their commissions.

Further up the river about three miles, on the west shore, on a creek called the Minquas creek, so named as it runs pretty near the Minquas land, is another fort named Christina. This fort lies about a half mile in the creek, and is nearly encircled by a marsh, except on the north-west side, where it can be approached by land. At its south-west side it touches the kill; but although it is actually in a pretty good order, yet it might be made stronger. This fort has no permanent garrison, but otherwise it is well provided, and is the principal place of trade, in which the commissary holds his residence; and here is a magazine of all sorts of goods.

* New Amsterdam.

This is the first fort constructed by the Swedes under the command of one Peter Minuit, in the year 1638, although the company had then a sufficient garrison on the river, and sufficient fortifications, men and ammunitions of war, and had been in possession of this country more than fourteen years before this settlement of the Swedes; which Peter Minuit served the Hon. Company here as Director.

Somewhat farther on the same side, about two (Dutch) miles, there are some plantations, which are continued nearly a mile; but few houses only are built, and these at considerable distance one from the other. The farthest of these is not far from Tinnekonk, which is an island, and is towards the river side, secured by creeks and underwood; there the governor, John Printz, keeps his residence. This is a pretty strong fort, constructed by laying very heavy hemlock (*greenen*) logs the one on the other; but this fort, with all its buildings, was burnt down on the 5th December, 1645. Farther on, at the same side, till you come to the Schuylkill, being about two miles, there is not a single plantation, neither at Tinnekonk, because near the river nothing is to be met but underwood and valley lands.

In regard to this Schuylkill, these are lands purchased and possessed by the company. He employed the company's carpenter, and constructed there a fort on a very convenient spot on an island near the borders of the kill, which is from the west side secured by another creek, and from the south-south-east and east sides with underwood and valley lands. It lays about the distance of a gun-shot in the kill. On the south side of this kill, on the same island, beautiful corn is raised. This fort cannot, in any manner whatever, obtain any control on the river, but it has the command over the whole creek, while this kill or creek is the only remaining avenue for trade with the Minquas, and without this trade the river is of little value.

At a little distance from this fort was a creek to the farthest distant wood, which place is named Kinsessing by the savages, which was before a certain and invariable resort for trade with the Minquas, but which is now opposed by the Swedes having there built a strong house. About half a mile further in the woods, Governor Printz constructed a mill on a kill which runs in the sea not far to the south of Matinnekonk, and on this kill a strong building just by in the path which leads to the Minquas; and this place is called by the savages Kakarikonk. So that no access to the Minquas is left open; and he, too, controls nearly all the trade of the savages on the river, as the greatest part of them go a hunting in that neighbourhood, which they are not able to do without passing by his residence.

In regard to his force, it consists at utmost of eighty or ninety men, freemen as well as servants, with whom he must garri-

son all his strong places. I shall not mention here the fortifications and possessions of the company, as being sufficiently well known.

Respecting the procedures of the Swedes, when on the 23d June, 1646, a shallop with a considerable cargo was dispatched to me, but which was the property of individuals, I gave orders to go to the Schuylkill near the right, and to wait there for the Minquas. When arrived there, Jurriaen Blancke, the trader of the sloop, was commanded to leave that spot at once, as belonging to the crown; of which I received notice, when I directly went thither with four men, to examine how matters stood. When I received there the same notice, I requested that they would inform their governor that this place had always been a trading place, and that thus he would act with discretion, and avoid giving cause for discord: on which the next day the minister of the gospel was dispatched, who declared to me that he had orders that if the bark was in the Schuylkill, he should compel her to leave it. I answered him, that I first must see the signature and seal of the governor, by which he intended to forbid the company to trade with their goods in any part of the river. I farther requested, that this might be done with discretion, and that the alliance between their High Mightinesses and her Royal Majesty might be taken in consideration; while I farther entered a protest against any losses and hindrances that might be the natural consequence. On which the aforesaid John Printz dispatched towards me the commissary Hendrick Huygen, with two of his officers, as Carel Jansen, a Finn by birth, his book keeper, and Gregory Van Dyck, his sergeant (*wacht meester*), a native of the Hague, and demanded my answer upon some articles, of which I demanded an answer—I intended to say a copy—when I would answer him in writing. He replied, he had no orders to do so, and that he dared not to do it. When I did give him, nevertheless, a verbal answer, to avoid giving him any offence, I did so in the presence, on my part, of Sander Boyer, sergeant (*wachtmeester*), Philip Gerneert, and Jurriaen Blancke, all freemen; and the following were the articles and answers upon these, briefly, as I could not remember the whole, since they were read by them with much haste:—

“ Submission by the Honorable John Printz, governor in behalf of the crown of Sweden on the South river in New Netherland, communicated by Hendrick Huygen, commissary, a native of Cleef, Carel Jansen, book-keeper, by birth a Finn, and Gregory Van Dyck, sergeant (*wachtmeester*), a native of the Hague, of the following articles, in presence of the above named persons on my side.

ART. 1 & 2.

On the Schuylkill, in what manner the property of it is as-

certained and understood ; what are and how far are extended its limits ?

Answer. That the acts relative to the division of the limits are at the Mannhattans, where he may obtain correct information.

ART. 3, 4, & 5.

Query : If he ever offended me or any of mine with words or deeds ?

Answer. That he left me and mine alone ; but that he offended the company and afterwards their High Mightinesses—in so far it was said to me in his name, that he would drive me from the kill by force.

ART. 6 & 7.

That the Governor had sent for the Minquas at the expense of the crown, and that when they arrived, I lured them from the Schuylkill.

Answer. That the Sachem was last spring with me, and that I defrayed his expenses, and made a contract with him that as soon as I received some goods, either I would send him directly a messenger, or that I would come down, if I received any information.

ART. 8.

That I compelled by force Jurriaen Blanck to sail up and fasten his bark to the bridge.

Answer. That he commanded him to sail up, but that he knows not of any compulsion.

ART. 9.

That I took up arms without any just cause, and that I had answered upon his interdict, that I would remain there, and should see who would be so daring as to drive me away.

Answer. That I made no use of any arms, much less shewed any hostile intention or committed any act of hostility—but rather endeavoured to prevent it without betraying the privileges of their High Mightinesses."

The affair did not remain at rest in this manner, but he sent on the 1st July following a warning to Blancke, of which the following is a copy :—

"My good friend Blancke—I have received again complaints of several of Her Majesty's inhabitants, how that thou art compelled with thy bark contrary to the letter of thy commission to remain there, under the pretext that thou art obliged to do so by Andries Hudde, who takes care of the interests and disposes of the lands of their High Mightinesses as com-

missioned by them. So is it, that I friendly admonish you, as soon as you shall have been informed of these contents, that you directly leave that spot ; as your commission implies, with your trading vessel in the Schuylkill, seek the spot where usually the sloops are accustomed to trade—which shall not be prohibited ; neither do I desire that my subjects shall be admitted there, from respect and friendship for the commander and his commissions as long as you are remaining and trading in the Schuylkill, or that they would obstruct your interests. But if you should act against these my orders, and despise my warning, which you are in duty bound to obey, so shall your bark with its whole cargo, in conformity with the orders of her Royal Majesty, as it is strongly expressed in her Majesty's orders—be confiscated : of which you may be fully persuaded, in case that you act against my orders. Done at Tinnekonk, 20 June, 1646. (signed)

JOHN PRINTZ."

On this warning Jurriaen Blancke departed from thence, but by no means by my orders, but through fear that his bark and goods laden in it might be confiscated, as he was a private person, to whom it would be a very difficult task to obtain its recovery—more so, as it was not in my power to give him any security, since I was entirely ignorant of the cause of contest between the company and the Swedes.

I immediately informed the Director General Kieft of this event—viz. on the 12th July ; so too I communicated to him how the trade with the Minquas might be continued, as it was the plan of the aforesaid Printz and his associates to deprive the company and its colonists of this benefit by all means.

While in the mean time I was commanded by a letter of the director-general to enquire about certain minerals in this country ; so I went for this purpose to Sankikans, and tried to penetrate to the great falls, where if the samples might be credited there was a great hope of success. Now it happened, that when I would pass the first fall, a sachem, named Wirakehen, stopped me and asked where I would go ? I answered him, that I intended to go upward. He replied, that this was not permitted, and that he wished to know why I came hither—what was my object ? He informed me at last, after various discourses, that the Swedish Governor told one Meerkedt, a sachem residing near Tinnekonk, that we had an intention to build a house near the great falls, and that in the vessels which were to be expected, 250 men would arrive—which would be sent hither from the Mannhattans—and would kill all the savages below on the river ; and that this fort was to be garrisoned in the house which we intended to build up the river, and would prevent the savages residing up the river to come to their

assistance, so that no more should be able to escape; and in proof of all this it was stated that we would first come up in a small vessel to visit and explore the spot, and that we would kill two savages, to obtain by it some pretext, but that he, Printz, would never permit it, and would certainly expel us from the river; and although I employed different means to succeed in coming up to the falls, yet I was stopped every time, and always with the same objection, so that I was compelled at length to give it up.

And as on the 7th September following a letter was delivered me in which I was imperiously commanded to purchase some land from the savages, which was situated on the west shore about a mile distant from Fort Nassau to the north, so I took possession of that spot on the 8th following, and erected on it the arms of the company, and, as the proprietor was not at home, I was obliged to delay the conclusion of the purchase till the 25th of the same month. After the purchase was accomplished, the original proprietor went with me to the spot, and assisted in fixing the arms of the company to a pole, which was fixed in the ground on the limits. Shortly after this, several freemen made preparations to build on this newly-acquired possession, about which time the Swedish Commissary Huygen carried our arms, which I had affixed, with him down on on the 8th of October, which as he said, he had taken by order of his governor; on which a considerable altercation took place, and among others, about the great abuse committed by his sergeant (*wachtmeester*) and other Swedes on the 30th September last, against all good order and decency, and after the guard was already on duty—when I kept him for some time in the guard-house besides a severe reproof, and demanded of his governor to correct and punish him, so that it might evidently appear, that he had no share whatever in such a violent outrage, or, if similar excesses were again renewed, I would directly inflict punishment as usually is done on similar turbulent persons.

On which event a protest, of which the following is a copy, was delivered on the 16th of the following month by order of the aforesaid John Printz, through two of his freemen, Oloff Stille and Moens Flom.

“Andries Hudde! I remind you again by this written warning—as before was done verbally in person by the commissary Hendrick Huygen—that you will discontinue the injuries of which you have been guilty against the Royal Majesty in Sweden, my most gracious Queen, against her Royal Majesty's rights, pretensions, soil and land, without showing the least respect to Her Royal Majesty's magnificence, reputation and highness; and that you will do so no more, and then consid-

ering how little it would be becoming her Royal Majesty to bear such gross violence, and what great disasters might originate from it, yea, might be expected. Secondly—with what reluctance, as I think, your nation or your masters would for such a trifle come in conflict with Her Royal Majesty, as you have no shadow of right for this your gross conduct, particularly for your secret and unlawful purchase of land from the savages, by which you evidently betrayed your conviction of the justice, equity and antiquity of your pretensive claims, of which you so loudly boasted, and which by this purchase have been brought to light; shewing clearly that you had no shadow of right to that place, of which ye have taken possession, no more than to others on this river which you now claim, in which however you was never molested by Her Majesty or her plenipotentiaries; neither was it ever attempted by them to undermine you in a sinister way; all this I can freely bring forward in my defence, to exculpate me from all future calamities, of which we give you a warning and place it to your account. Dated N. Gothenburg, 30 Sept. 1646.” Below in the margin was the following: “The orders, to which you appeal, may very well have been occasioned by unjust and unfair reports, and it would well become you to send him correct information of this whole transaction, as you were present on the spot.

JOHN PRINTZ.”

As I was obliged to go up the river on the next day to take care of some very urgent business, I was informed at my return that the Swedish governor had forbidden his subjects to enter into any transactions with our people, which is often put in practice by professed enemies, but never was adopted by allies the one against the other; and as I then was farther informed that the Swede found fault with me because I did not send him an answer to his protest, I wrote the following protest which I sent him on the 23d of October, by the sergeant (*wachtmeester*) Sander Boyer and two soldiers, viz. Davit Davitsen and Jacob Hendricksen:—

“To the noble governor De Heer John Printz—

Sir Governor! on the evening of the 16th inst. *stilo novo*, was delivered to me an act by Oloff Stille and Moens Flom, dated on the 30th September, *stilo veteri*, by which your Honour warns me to desist from any injuries which I should have done or committed against the lands of her Royal Majesty of Sweden, which however remain yet unknown to me till this moment; and if your Honour had condescended to explain wherein these consisted, I should not have hesitated to alter my course, if your Honour's insinuations had been correct, as I am entirely ignorant that I have left undone anything which might have a ten-

dency to the preservation of our mutual intercourse, much less that I should have committed any act of gross violence. I purchased the land not in a clandestine manner, neither unjustly, except that your Honour calls that a clandestine manner which is not performed with your Honour's knowledge. I purchased it from the real owner. If he sold that land previously to your Honour, then he imposed upon me shamefully. The place which we possess, we possess in deed, in just property, perhaps before the name of the South river was heard of in Sweden. I cannot say, certainly I am ignorant, if my lord and master has been unjustly informed—only that I explained to him the whole transaction in truth and justice, and so I will continue to do by the first opportunity that I may obtain, and transmit to him your act with this my answer upon it, to be further informed by him what he may think proper to command, and what I shall be obliged to execute; and whereas your commissary coming down on the 8th instant, had taken off the arms which I hung up on the purchased lands, tearing them down in an insolent and hostile manner with these threatening words—"that although it had been the colours of the Prince of Orange that were hoisted there, he would have thrown these too under his feet;" besides many bloody menaces, which have been reported to me from time to time, which can have no other tendency than to cause great calamities; and whereas this not only concerns my nation and masters, but is an infringement on the authority of their High Mightinesses the States General, and that of his Highness the Prince of Orange, and so too of that of the noble Director, which is insulted by it—so is it, that I am compelled against my will to send your Honour this answer, by which I must protest before God and the whole world; as also I protest by this that I am innocent of all the disasters, difficulties, losses, and what further might follow from these procedures, or which might originate from them, but that to the contrary I performed every thing, and endeavoured to employ all means, by which a good correspondence and mutual harmony might be promoted—so as I deem myself obliged to do, in so far as my honour and oath shall permit it—and I will confide that it is your Honour's intention to act in the same manner—at least from the consideration that we who are Christians will not place ourselves as a stumbling-block or laughing-stock to those savage heathens, which I trust, that shall remain so, as it is by your affectionate friend.

A. HUDDE.

On the South river in New Netherlands, October 22d, 1646."

When the sergeant returned, he reported—that as soon as he arrived at the governor's, who stood before his door, he wished

him a good morning, and said further I bring you a greeting from the Commissary Hudde, who sends you this act in answer to yours ; when he, John Printz, took it from his hand, and threw it towards one of his attendants who stood near him, saying—"there, take care of it." The other picked it up from the ground, and took care of it. The governor then departed to meet some Englishmen just arrived from New England ; after some interval the sergeant asked to see the governor to obtain an answer ; but notwithstanding he came there in the discharge of his duty, he nevertheless was thrown out of doors, the governor taking a gun in his hand from the wall to shoot him as he imagined, but was prevented from leaving his room.

And whereas the aforesaid governor John Printz leaves nothing untried to render us suspected, as well among the savages as among the Christians—yea, often is conniving when the subjects of the company, as well freemen as servants, when arriving at the place where he resides, are in a most unreasonable manner abused, so that they are often, on returning home, bloody and bruised—so many examples are at hand for a similar treatment by the savages—and more particularly so from the Armewsick savages who endeavoured to surprise us on the 12th May, 1647, at noon, although it was rendered void by God's mercy and correct informations, and through a misunderstanding amongst them—and as he openly declares that the company has no right whatever on this river, and that he purchased the land in behalf of the crown of Sweden ; so as to the Minquas land, that the company could not trust on their old uninterrupted possession—that *the devil was the oldest possessor of hell, but that he sometimes admitted a younger one*—so as he openly declared at his own table on the 3d June 1647, in my presence and that of my wife, with many other equally vulgar expressions serving and intended for the same purpose ; but—and what is worse—he made it openly manifest by stubborn deeds—more particularly by enclosing the river, so that no vessel can enter it on any account except with his previous consent, notwithstanding they may have been provided with the most respectable commissions, by which doing he not only greatly injures the freemen, but retards their journey, to their great loss. He farther in this manner shamefully vilifies their High Mightinesses by denying them their due respect—despising and treating as frivolous and insignificant the commissions in virtue of their High Mightinesses' plenitude of power, granted in their name by their Director General to the freemen. And whereas these freemen have repeatedly complained to me, yet it was not in my power to afford them any relief, except—what I often did—by renewing my remonstrances ; so is it at last, that several freemen, lying here at anchor,

came to me on the 29th July last, and humbly solicited that I would prepare and present in their behalf a request to the Director General, Peter Stuyvesant, petitioning relief from the hindrances which they met with.

This I effected and transmitted the petition; when, on the 15th of August, was delivered to me a protest of the aforesaid Peter Stuyvesant on the same transaction, which I delivered on the 17th instant to Governor Printz, and received for answer, that he would answer him in writing. As I obtained by his letter permission to come thither, so I went and arrived on the 7th of December at Manhattans, where I delivered to the aforesaid director the written answer of Governor Printz.

It happened in the mean time, during this winter, in the beginning of the year, that on the evening of the 2d of April 1648, a vessel arrived from below, with a *schover* sail, without colours, so that I was doubtful, as not knowing from where it came or what it was: whereon I ordered a gun to be fired over it, but it pursued its course. I ordered a gun to be fired the second time, but it was not more minded than at the first time—whereon I despatched directly eight men in its pursuit; but as the wind was fair, and the weather very hazy, and besides very dark, they could not reach it; but after two or three days, I discovered that it was the Swedish bark; which again descending the river, I asked the skipper by what cause he passed the fort with a *doorgesehoten stengel*,* without showing his colours, by which it might be known who his master was, though he had the colours with him, as was evident since they were now flying; he answered very contemptuously, that if he had known that this would have come in consideration, he would not have done it now, but that he should certainly do so in future, if it was to irritate and as a mark of his contempt—on which I delivered to him the following act for his Governor, of which this is a copy.

“Noble and valiant John Printz:—

Whereas your shallop on the 3d instant, towards evening, sailed by the fort, and contrary to custom hath lowered his colours before it arrived near Fort Nassau, and passed without shewing his colours, by which it could be ascertained who was his master, contrary to our arrangements, which you approved, viz. that our vessels coming in the river, are to stop near the forts, even when it is sufficiently known from where they come, so that neither your subjects nor ours might be exposed to any mishap: while it was to be feared that otherwise, under this cover, one or other foreign nation, to our great

* I do not understand this technical term.—TRANS.

injury, might pass by. Wherefore I can not withhold my deep surprise with what object in view your Honour permitted this vessel to pass by the fort under such a disguise. As far as I can judge, and considering what in such case might and ought to be done against others arriving here without orders, it is certainly not the right course to cultivate a good understanding between neighbours, but it rather produces misunderstanding, which I could not have expected to have met with. I will in future in a similar case not neglect what my duty, to maintain the due respect towards their High Mightinesses and the Prince of Orange, and the rights and immunities of my lords and masters, requires of me; wherefore I earnestly solicit, that your Honour shall prevent it in future—as by a contrary conduct I should be compelled, whenever any difficulties from it might arise, in behalf of my own innocence, to enter my protest—more so, as the skipper, Claert Huygen, had the effrontery to boast, that he only acted so to insult me, and that he should regret if he did otherwise in future. Farewell.

A. HUDDE.

Done in Fort Nassau, 13th April."

As I was informed during the whole winter that the Swedes brought together a large quantity of logs (*greene*), and that already a great number has been carried to the Schuylkill, which made me apprehend, that the governor had an intention to construct some buildings near the place where the vessels are now usually laying at anchor; and as these trading as before had been driven from Kinsessing, and we cannot otherwise approach the large woods to trade with the Minquas, by which consequently this trade being lost to us, the possession of this river, as I well observed before, would deserve very little consideration; wherefore I dared not to withhold this communication, more so as I had no orders with regard to its preservation, so that I now wait for the orders, what to do in case the Swede might build, and again might take possession of some yet unoccupied places, in which case I should humbly propose to take possession of the tract of land nearest to him in the name of the company. It happened now that on the fourth of the same month, some of the sachems came to me from the savages of Passayonk, who asked me why I did not build on the Schuylkill; that the Swedes had already there some buildings constructed. On which I made an inquiry about it the next day, and receiving correct information with regard to the anticipation by the Swede, and particularly so with regard to some places of the highest importance; I directly prepared myself to build near the place, and went thither on the 27th next, with the most necessary timber, calling then without delay for the

sachems, and stated to them that at present I came there with the intention to build on that spot which they had granted me. On which they sent an errand to the Swedes, who lived there already, and commanded him to depart from thence, insinuating that they had taken possession of that spot in a clandestine way, and that against their will, and that they had made a cession for the present to me; that I too should build there; on which two of the principal sachems, as Maarte-Hooock and Wissemenets, planted there with their own hands the colours of the prince of Orange, and ordered that I should fire a gun three times, as a mark that I had taken possession.

This was effected, and then we raised the house in the presence of the chiefs. Towards evening the Swedish commissary arrived there with seven or eight men, and asked me with whose permission or order I did raise that building. I answered, by orders of my masters, and with the previous consent of the savages; then pausing a little, he asked me further, if I had it in my power to show an act, that I did so by order of my master, and not on letters of some freemen? I answered yes; that I was ready to produce it, after he should have delivered me an act, by whose orders he made such a demand. In the meantime, the sachems said to Hendrick Huygen and his company, that they should grant us that tract of land, and that we would settle there; and asked by whose orders they (Swedes) did erect buildings there?—if it was not enough, that they were already in possession of Matennekonk, the Schuylkill, Kinsessing, Kakanken, Upland, and other places possessed by the Swedes, all which they had stolen from them? that Mennewit now about eleven years past, had no more than six small tracts of land upon Paghaghacking, purchased to plant there some tobacco, of which they natives, in gratitude, should enjoy the half of the produce. If they coming to them (pointing at the Swedes) should be permitted, when purchasing a tract of land, to take the next adjoining to it, as the Swedes had done here on the river, and yet continued to do, that they were greatly surprised, indeed, that they (the Swedes) would prescribe laws to them, who were the original and natural proprietors of the land, even as if they might not do with their own what they wished; that they (the Swedes) arrived only lately on the river, and had taken already so much land from them, which they actually settled, while we, pointing at us, never had taken from them any land, although we had dwelt here and conversed with them more than thirty years.

Thus I continued the commenced work, surrounding the house with palisades, because the Swedes had destroyed before the house which the company possessed on the Schuylkill, and built a fort in its place, and they might do perhaps the same here. While we thus were at work, arrives Moens Klingo, lieutenant

at the fort on the Schuylkill, with twenty-four men fully armed, with charged muskets, and bearing maces, marching in ranks. He asked if we intended to finish that work, and if we would proceed with it? To which I answered, what was commenced must be finished too. Upon which he commanded that his men should lay down their muskets, and that each of them should take his axe in his hand, and cut down every tree which stood around or near the house, destroying even the fruit trees which I had planted there.

On which arrived here on the 7th of June the honourable committee of the members of the high council, L. Van Dincklagen, second, and the honourable La Montagne, to which honourable men the principal chiefs and original proprietors made on the tenth of the same month a public transfer of the Schuylkill, and sanctioned the former purchase to Arent Corst, before commissary on the same Schuylkill, and all the adjoining lands; of all which their honours took a public and lawful possession.

After which said honourable committee, with a becoming suite, sailed to Tinnekonck, and were received there by the commissary Huygen and Lieutenant Passegay, who left them about half an hour in the open air and a constant rain; and after they were admitted to an audience, delivered among others their solemn protest against the aforesaid Printz against his illegal possession of the Schuylkill, on which he promised to answer before their departure.

And as some freemen solicited that they might be permitted to build, so were by their honours assigned the different spots to them on which they might settle. Upon this one Hans Jacobsen made on the second July next a beginning to settle himself on the Schuylkill, which was prevented by the Swedes, the son of the governor Printz being commanded to execute this exploit, who tried to compel the aforesaid Hans to break down what he hath already raised, and when the aforesaid Hans declined to do so, he did it himself, and burnt the whole, with the following menaces "that if he there came again and dared to build, he would carry off with him a good drubbing."

Not better fate waited one Thomas Braes, who went thither on the sixth instant, to settle himself at New Holm, a certain place to which they had given this name. He was there scarce three hours, when the Swedes under the command of one Gregory Van Dyck, sergeant (*wachtmeester*), arrived there, and pulled down, as before in similar cases was put in practice, all that had been raised by him, with a warning that he should directly retreat, or they would beat him off. In this situation affairs remained for that time.

While I in the mean time was commanded to come to the Manhattans, I went thither, and arrived there on the eighth

day of September ; when there I made my report of the situation of the South river, and delivered further in writing what in my opinion was necessary and practicable. At this time notice was received by land, that the Swede had placed a house just before the fort Beavers Rheede, by which the access to the fort was entirely barricadoed. As the winter season was approaching, I returned again on the 5th of October, with a few freemen, to whom were delivered letters patent, to settle and build on the Schuylkill ; with whom being arrived on the 15th October in the South river of New Netherland, I was directly informed that the Swede placed his best hope on the country of the Minquas against the bargain concluded by us. Wherefore, to prevent similar frivolous pretensions, and to shew that the contract was by no means broken by the honorable committee, I sent the following note to Hendrick Huygens, which he might deliver to his governor :—

(Copy.)

“ Honourable and obliging good friend—Accept my cordial salutation. It is with deep regret that I was informed on my return, that our fugitives can find no residence in the Minquas country, against the good intentions indeed of our director general, who will not permit that any thing shall be undertaken by his subjects against our contract, but he expects that similar conduct shall be holden from both sides ; and as I am certain that some late proceedings must arouse his suspicions, so I considered it my duty to send you this note in my defence, confident that on this point your governor will alter his mind. And whereas our freemen are permitted to follow and promote their private concerns, so is it that meanwhile one of the Swedish officers named Peter Jochems, in contempt of us, tore by night the palisadoes from the fort Rheede with violence asunder, broke them all in this manner in pieces, and making use of the greatest violence, as well in words as deeds, whereon they renewed their labours, so that the whole was finished on the 4th of November, which then for the second time was torn down the Swedes, who broke with great violence every piece of timber—of which proceedings I transmitted a faithful account to the director general. And whereas I do not possess any other arms but paper against similar procedures, so did I deem it necessary to send the inclosed protest to his Honour John Printz.”

(Copy.)

“ Whereas by order and commission of our director general P. Stuyvesant, Symen Roet, Peter Harmensen, and Cornelius Mauntsers were authorized to build on the Mast-makers corner,

so is it, that Symen Roet, in virtue of this commission, made a beginning on the 4th of November to raise a house on the Mast-makers corner, which was forbidden him at that time by your deputies; yet, notwithstanding all his entreaties, open force was used by your subjects to destroy his work. The intercession of the persons qualified by our lords and masters with the superintendence of this colony were utterly in vain. So too was their remonstrance, that allies as we are ought not to meet one another with force and violence, but on the contrary act together in harmony as good and true confederates, leaving, if some disputes did arise, their decision to our supreme sovereign, by which amicable conduct the undersigned is willing to leave the point in dispute as it now is, till he shall receive further orders.

When with the rising sun they were warned that a committee had arrived, which consisted of Alexander Boyer and Adrian van Tienhoven, a warning was given to double the exertions, hewing and chopping till the whole was ruined, under the most contemptible and shameless expressions on all them who endeavoured only to obey the orders of their masters. Proceedings, indeed, which can have no other tendency than to foster mutual rancour and enmity, being far remote from good neighbourhood, which we in every event endeavoured to cultivate, and carefully avoided what might give offence, although more than once our most kind dispositions were in a sinister and malicious manner interpreted.

On all which insolences and marks of disrespect shewn to a legal commission, invested with authority of their High Mightinesses, and his highness the Prince of Orange, as well as that of our lords mayors, with an open breach of harmony and friendship, we are now compelled to protest, before God and the world, that we are innocent of all the difficulties which might arise from similar procedures, and openly declare, that we from our side aimed at nothing else than what might be conducive to preserve a good friendship, and in behalf of which we are yet willing to oblige ourselves, as we intend to remain your affectionate friend.

A. HUDDÉ.

Done in Fort Nassau, on the South river, in New Netherlands, 7th September, 1648." *

* The above report is imperfect, as appears from the original MS., the concluding pages being lost. It was translated into wretched English by Mr. Van der Kemp, and makes a part of the seventeenth volume of the colonial records at Albany. For the want of a better, this translation has been adopted, but with numerous alterations to render it intelligible.—Ed.

GOVERNOR RISING'S OFFICIAL REPORT.

Translated from the original Swedish,

By GEORGE P. MARSH, Esq., of Burlington, Vermont.

Report concerning the hostile and treacherous invasion of the Swedish colony in Nova Svecia, by the Dutch, under the command of P. Stuyvesant, governor of the New Netherlands, wherefore the faithful subjects of his royal majesty of Sweden, who have endured such violence, do most humbly betake themselves to his royal majesty's most gracious shelter and protection, to the intent that they may be sustained and indemnified for the wrongs and injuries which they have suffered.

In the year 1655, on the 30th day of August, the Dutch from the North river, where Manhattan or New Amsterdam is situated, with seven ships or vessels, under command of the said P. Stuyvesant, having on board 600 or 700 men, arrived in the South River, where Nova Svecia lieth, and anchored before the fortress of Elfsborg, which was then dismantled and ruinous; the next day, they passed Fort Casimir, and bringing to a little above, they landed, and immediately summoned Sven Schüte,* who was in command, to surrender the fort, enforcing their summons both with menaces and persuasion; and proceeded to throw up some works. Some time before this, having learned from the savages that the Dutch were about to assail us, we had caused Fort Casimir to be supplied with men and munitions to the best of our ability, and had drawn up a resolution in writing to defend the fort in case the Dutch should attack it, ordering Captain Schüte, the commandant, to send on board their ships, when they approached, and demand of them whether they came as friends, and in any case to warn them not to run by the fort, upon pain of being fired upon, (which in such case they could not reckon an act of hostility.) But if they were minded to treat with us as friends concerning our territory and boundaries, he should compliment them with a Swedish national salute, and assure them that we were well disposed to a fast friendship. Nevertheless, Captain Sven Schüte not only suffered the Dutch ships to pass the fort without remonstrance or firing a gun, whereby they gained the command both of the fort and of the whole river, and cut off the communication between the forts, by posting troops between them, as high

* The modern orthography of this name is *Skytte*.—TRANS.

up as Christina creek, but surrendered the fort to Stuyvesant by a dishonourable capitulation, in which he forgot to stipulate a place to which he, with his people and effects, might retire; he also subscribed the capitulation, not in the fort or in any indifferent place, but on board a Dutch ship. So Stuyvesant detained the garrison, and transported most of them to Manahatans, whereby we were greatly reduced in strength and endangered, and not even knowing as yet that Fort Casimir had so suddenly fallen into the enemy's hands, we had sent thither in the mean time nine or ten of our best men to strengthen the garrison. This detachment, when they had crossed Christina creek betimes in the morning, found the Dutch posted there, who immediately attacked them, fifty or sixty men strong, and summoned them to surrender; but they put themselves in posture of defence, and after a skirmish with the Dutch, were all taken prisoners, except two, who retreated to the boat, and were several times fired upon by the enemy, but without being slain or wounded. Upon this we fired upon the Dutch from the sconce, with a great gun, whereupon they retired into the woods, and afterwards treated harshly and cruelly such of our people as fell into their hands.

The same day the factor Elsvii was sent down from Fort Christina to Stuyvesant to demand an explanation of his conduct, and to dissuade him from further hostilities, as we could not be persuaded that he seriously purposed to disturb us in the lawful dominions of his Royal Majesty and our principals. But as Stuyvesant had so cheaply obtained possession of Fort Casimir, whither we had sent our best soldiers, thus depriving ourselves in a great measure both of men and munitions, he would give Elsvii no satisfaction, but claimed the whole river and all our territory, and had well nigh detained Elsvii as a spy. When we learned this we collected all the people we could for the defence of Fort Christina, and laboured with all our might, by night and by day, in strengthening the ramparts, and filling gabions. The next day, being September 2d, the Dutch shewed themselves in considerable strength on the opposite bank of Christina creek, but attempted no hostile operations. On the morning of the 3d, they hoisted their flag on our shallop, which lay drawn up on the beach, and appeared to be about establishing themselves in a neighbouring house. We therefore sent over Lieutenant Sven Höök, with a drummer, to demand what they purposed, for what cause they posted themselves there, and for what we should hold them. When he had nearly crossed the creek, he asked them from the boat, whether he might freely go to them? They answered yes; and whether, after discharging his commission, he might freely return? to which also they answered, yes, as we could all

plainly hear in Fort Christina, and can bear witness accordingly. So the drummer rowed the boat to the shore, without beat of drum, because the lieutenant already had their parol, and knowing no cause of hostility, he supposed this ceremony to be unnecessary. They then both went on shore, and an officer met them, and conducted them some distance to a house, where the enemy had already taken up a position. The Dutch then sent our lieutenant down to Stuyvesant, pretending that he was a spy, and Stuyvesant arrested him and threw him into the ship's hold, but Capt. Fridr. Könish detained the drummer and his drum in his own custody, and thus they treated our messengers, contrary to the laws and customs of all civilized nations.

By the 4th they had planted gabions about the house on the opposite bank of Christina creek, and afterwards threw up a battery under cover of them, and entrenched themselves there. Some of our people interpreted all this as indicating the purpose of the Dutch to be to claim and hold all our territory up to the creek, and to construct a fort there, not yet believing that they would, in contempt of public peace, and without any known cause, commence hostilities against us, until they had set up some claim, or promulgated some protest against us, whereas up to this time we had received from them neither message nor letter assigning any manner of cause or complaint.

On the 5th, the Dutch ships went up to Third Hook (*tridie Hoeck*), where they landed their men, who then passed over to Timber Island, and thence over the great falls (*stoore falliet*), and so invested Fort Christina on all sides. They brought their ships into the mouth of the creek, and planted their great guns on the western side of the fort, and when we burnt a little powder in a couple of pieces to scale them, they fired several shots over our heads from Timber Island, where they had taken post in a house, and announced to us, that they had taken up a position on the west side, by regular volleys. We continued to prepare ourselves to make the best defence which our strength would allow, if we should be attacked, for we were not yet satisfied what the Dutch intended; but in a short time an Indian came in to us with a letter from Stuyvesant, in which he arrogantly claimed the whole river, and required me and all the Swedes either to evacuate the country, or to remain there under Dutch protection, threatening with the consequences in case of refusal. Hereto I answered briefly, by letter, that I would reply to this extraordinary demand by special messengers, and sent him my answer by the same Indian. We then held a general council of war, as to what should be done, if the Dutch assaulted us by storm or battery; and it was determined that we should in any case maintain the defensive, and make the best resistance we could, but should not commence or provoke hostil

ities, on account of our weakness and want of supplies ; that we should wait until they fired upon us, or began to storm the works, and then defend ourselves as long as we could, and leave the consequences to be redressed by our gracious superiors.

The Dutch now began to encroach upon us more and more every day. They killed our cattle, goats, swine and poultry, broke open houses, pillaged the people without the sence of their property, and higher up the river they plundered many, and stripped them to the skin. At New Gottenburg they robbed Mr. Papegoija's wife of all she had, with many others, who had collected their property together there. They continued to advance their approaches to Fort Christina, (which was a small and feeble work, and lay upon low ground, and could be commanded from the surrounding heights,) and threw up two batteries besides those on the opposite bank and on Timber Island, and hoisted their flags on all of them, as well as on our ship in Fish creek, all which hostile acts, injuries and insults we were, to our great mortification, compelled to witness and suffer, being unable to resist them, by reason of our want of men and of powder, whereof our supply scarcely sufficed for a single round for our guns. Notwithstanding all this, we still trusted that they would at length be persuaded to hear reason, and accordingly on the 7th we sent messengers down to Stuyvesant at Fort Casimir, with a written commission, whereby we sought to dissuade him from further hostilities, protesting against his invasion and disturbance of our proper territory without cause assigned, or declaration denying, as far as they could, our right of possession in the river ; also suggesting to him the jealousies between our respective sovereigns, and other consequences of great moment which would ensue ; that we were determined to defend our rights to the utmost of our strength, and that he must answer for all consequences, and finally required him to cease hostilities, and to retire with his people from Fort Christina. But all this availed nothing with him, and on the contrary he persisted in his claim to the whole river, and would listen to no terms of accommodation, declaring that such were his orders, and that those who had given them might answer for the consequences. He then wrote me a letter on the 9th, in which he anticipates all terms of accommodation, will not allow that we have any rights to the said river, seeks to refute our arguments, and styles our possession a usurpation, and so interprets every point to his own advantage.

As we still determined to maintain our own defence, and abide the result, the enemy continued to carry on their approaches day and night, and with our little force of about thirty men we could make no sorties, or prevent him from gaining positions from which he could command the sence so completely, that

there was not a spot on the ramparts where a man could stand in security, and as he now daily advanced his works, and summoned us to capitulate, with threats of giving no quarter, our men proposed to us to go out and try to bring Stuyvesant to reason, both on account of our want of supplies, and the advanced condition of the enemy's works, and especially because our provisions were scanty and would soon be exhausted. Besides our few and hastily collected people were getting worn out, partly sick, and partly ill disposed, and some had deserted.— From these considerations, and the fear of a mutiny, it was agreed, that I and Elsvii should go out the next day and hold a parley with Stuyvesant, and endeavour to restrain him from forcible measures, and to bring him to reason. We accordingly went out for this purpose on the 13th, and Stuyvesant and Nicatius de Sylle met us between the sconce and their most advanced work. We solemnly protested against his procedure and his hostile conduct, and replied verbally to his last mentioned letter, confirmed our title with the best arguments we could, and held a long discussion with them; but all this produced no impression upon them, and they maintained their first ground, and insisted upon the surrender of Fort Christina and the whole river; to which we replied that we would defend ourselves and resist them to the last, clearly showing them that they were unjustly invading our possessions, and declaring that we would appeal to our government to redress our wrongs, and protect our rights thus forcibly trencched upon, and so we went back to the sconce, exhorted our men to a manly defence, and encouraged them as well as we were able.

As soon as the Dutch had nearly completed their works, they brought the guns of all their batteries to bear upon us, and on the 14th instant formally summoned Fort Christina, with harsh menaces, by a drummer and a messenger, to capitulate within twenty-four hours. We then assembled a general council of the whole garrison, and it was found to be their unanimous opinion, that inasmuch as we had not sufficient strength for our defence, (the Dutch having completed their works against the sconce, and neither the sconce nor the garrison being able to stand an assault,) and were in want both of powder and other munitions, and had no hope of relief, therefore they were all of opinion, that we should make the best terms we could obtain with the Dutch; all which may be seen by the documents. So the next day we announced to the enemy, that we would consider their summons within the time prescribed, and being now reduced, by our want of supplies and weak condition, to yield to the violence practised upon us, we concluded a capitulation with Stuyvesant, as may be found by the original among the documents, and surrendered Fort Chris-

tina to him on the 15th instant, stipulating that the guns and all the effects belonging to the crown or the company should be restored by the Dutch, according to the inventory, upon demand, and reserving the restitution of our sovereign's rights in time and manner fitting ; providing also, that the Dutch should freely transport to Sweden both us, and as many Swedes as chose to accompany us, for we held it better that the people should be restored to their Fatherland's service than to leave them there in misery, without the necessaries of life, in which case they would have entered the service of the Dutch or English, and never again advantaged their country.

XV.

A FEW PARTICULARS
CONCERNING
THE DIRECTORS GENERAL OR GOVERNORS,
OF
NEW-NETHERLANDS.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE DUTCH GOVERNORS.

PETER MINUIT.

THE first few years in the history of the colony of New-Netherlands are involved in darkness and uncertainty. It is not known at what precise time a colonial government was organized, or who were the persons that composed it. There are no records beyond the year 1638, except of patents or deeds, and none of these earlier than 1630. The first notice of an administration of affairs by a director and council, within our knowledge, is contained in the correspondence with the governor of the Plymouth colony in 1627; but the only officer of the government named in those documents is the secretary, Isaac de Razier. In one of his letters to Governor Bradford, Razier announces his intention of visiting Plymouth, with the "*approbation of the Director and Council*;" and Bradford speaks of him as "*second to the Governor*."* The next reference to the director and council is in the patents of 1630; but in these also the names of the incumbents are omitted. There is one, however, without date, but supposed to have been executed in 1630, in which Peter Minuit is named as director. With this exception, the director or governor is not mentioned by name in the patents, as yet ascertained, until 1636.

A late writer has ingeniously made out a connected account of Minuit's administration from 1624 to 1633.† But in order to arrive at the truth, it is necessary to distinguish between probabilities and clearly ascertained facts. It is true that two ships of the West India Company arrived here with a cargo of goods, wares, &c., in 1624; this appears from a table of imports and exports published by De Laet;‡ but beyond the bare statement embraced in that document, the author leaves us entirely in the dark. There is nothing to show the arrival of either a director or a body of emigrants in those vessels. It is not improbable, however, that such was the fact, and the

* See above, pp. 363-364.

† Moulton, Hist. of New-York. Part II. *Novum Belgium*.

‡ See above, p. 385.

government may have been organized upon their arrival. The colony had been in existence several years at the time when the intercourse with Plymouth was begun ; and Bradford, in his letter to the Council of New-England, says, that "*for strength of men and fortification they [the Dutch] far exceed them and all others in the country.*"

Minuit was undoubtedly governor prior to the arrival of Van Twiller in 1633. This was originally suggested by Smith, who, in describing the extent of New-Netherlands, says—"I find in the Dutch records a copy of a letter from William Kieft, May 6, 1638, directed to Peter Minuit, who seems, by the tenor of it, to be the Swedish governor of New-Sweden, asserting that the whole south river of New-Netherlands had been in the Dutch possession many years, above and below, beset with forts and sealed with their blood : — which, Kieft adds, has happened even during *your administration in New-Netherlands*, and so is well known to you." In a note, the same author mentions a rencontre that took place between some Dutch and Indians on the Delaware, occasioned by a dispute about the States' arms, which had been set up as a mark of possession, and adds, that "if Kieft's letter alludes to this affair, then Minuit preceded Van Twiller in the chief command here ; and being perhaps disobliged by the Dutch, entered into the service of the Queen of Sweden."*

The letter of Kieft is copied at length by Acrelius,† who also remarks that Minuit had been in the Dutch service before his connexion with the Swedish colony, and that, having fallen into disputes with the West India Company, he had been displaced and recalled. A slight variance will be noticed in the part of the letter referring to Minuit's previous connexion with New-Netherlands, as given by the two authors ; the one referring to his "administration," and the other simply to his having been in the "service" of New-Netherlands, without indicating in what capacity. A literal translation of the passage favours the former sense, the original being as follows :—"*gedurende V. E. directie van Nieuw-Nederlant, ende V. E. weel bekend,*" &c., (during your Honour's direction or administration of the New-Netherlands, and is to your Honour well known, &c.)

This is not the only allusion of the kind in the colonial records. In another place a circumstance is stated to have occurred "*in the time of Minuit,*" evidently referring to the period when he was at the head of affairs. Again, Andreas Hudde, in his report relative to the Swedes on the Delaware, expressly declares that Minuit had here served the West India

* Smith's History of New-York, 4.

† Above, p. 409.

Company as Director, (*welcke Peter Minuit de E. H. Compagnie voor directeur hierte lande heeft gedient.*)*

It seems to be clear, therefore, that Minuit was director or governor of the colony; but when or how long, is a matter of uncertainty, except that he preceded Van Twiller. His subsequent connexion with the Swedish colony on the Delaware is fully described by Acrelius. During the short period of his government in that quarter, the Swedes had no difficulties with their Dutch neighbours. He died, about the year 1641, at Christina, now Wilmington, Delaware.†

WOUTER VAN TWILLER.

The administration of Van Twiller commenced in the spring of 1633, as is mentioned by De Vries, who arrived here about the same time.‡ The ship that brought out the new governor was lying in the harbour when the latter anchored near Staten Island. It is stated, however, that Van Twiller had been here before, in 1629, in an official capacity, and that the representations he afterwards made concerning the colony occasioned the recall of Minuit. Not having been able as yet to trace this statement to any authority on which full reliance can be placed, we must date his directorship from 1633. It lasted five years, when he appears to have been superseded by William Kieft. Van Twiller continued to reside in the colony after he ceased to hold the office of director, and seems to have occasioned some uneasiness to the company by disregarding their authority on several occasions, as appears from their letters to the Director General, contained in the colonial records. Leaving New-Amsterdam, he had removed to the colony of Rensselaerwyck, where he was engaged in commercial operations during the administration of Governor Stuyvesant.

WILLIAM KIEFT.

This energetic functionary arrived as the successor of Van Twiller, in the year 1638. With his administration the records of the colony that have been preserved, commence; and they are continued with considerable regularity down to the close of the Dutch dynasty. There seems to be no want of material for a full account of Kieft's directorship, which lasted eight or nine years. He sailed on his return to Holland in 1647; but the ship in which he embarked, the *Princess*, was lost, and all on board perished. Among the passengers was the Rev. Everardus Bogardus, the first minister of the colony.¶

* Above, p. 429. Van der Donck alludes to him as "*Commander Minuit*;" above, p. 160.

† Acrelius, 15.

‡ See above, p. 254.

¶ The loss of this ship is mentioned by Van der Donck. See above, p. 163.



*Engraved by Chas. Stewart from the original Portrait in the possession of
Mr. Peter Stewart*

Peter Stewart

PETRUS STUYVESANT.

The commission of Governor Stuyvesant was dated July 26th, 1646, and embraced New-Netherlands and the islands of Curaçoa, Bonaire, and Aruba, on the Spanish main. He arrived here the twenty-seventh of May, 1647. His administration was at the same time the longest, and the most perplexed and trying of all. The encroachments of New-England upon the east, of Maryland upon the south-west, and of the Swedes on the Delaware, served to keep the government of the colony in a state of almost constant excitement. At one time we find the Director General negotiating with the English at Boston, or Hartford, at another prosecuting a vigorous and successful campaign against the Swedish garrisons on the Delaware, and at another time making a voyage to Curaçoa on the coast of South America. There were troubles, too, nearer home; some disaffected spirits endeavoured to produce a popular commotion in the colony, and to overturn not only the authority of the Governor, but of the Directors of the West India Company. In the midst of all these difficulties the colony continued to prosper, and New-Amsterdam, before a straggling village, now began to assume an air of regularity, being laid out into streets, adorned with substantial Dutch houses. This improvement was made about the year 1656.

At length, however, the continued encroachments of the English, who were every day increasing in strength, both upon the east and the south-west, began to occasion serious alarm in the Dutch colony; and when a war broke out between the parent countries, there was little hope that it would escape the grasping cupidity of British power. "Your honours imagine," says Stuyvesant, in a letter to the company, dated April 20th, 1660, "that the troubles in England will prevent any attempt on these parts: alas! they are ten to one in number to us, and are able without any assistance to deprive us of the country when they please." Again, in the following year, he writes:—"We have advices from England, that there is an invasion intended against these parts, and the country solicited of the king, the duke, and the parliament, is to be annexed to their dominions; and for that purpose they desire three or four frigates," &c. These rumors were not without foundation; but the expedition did not sail until the year 1664, when, with the assistance of the New-England colonies, New-Netherlands was brought under subjection to the Duke of York, to whom his brother Charles I. had granted a patent of the country.

Thus ended the administration of Petrus Stuyvesant, who, on the surrender, obtained such favourable terms for his countrymen that scarcely any of them removed from the colony; they

remained in the enjoyment of their own customs, and of their civil and religious rights and privileges, without hindrance or objection on the part of their new rulers. Such was the pertinacity with which they adhered to the use of their own language, that a full century elapsed after the conquest before an English sermon was heard in the Dutch church of the city of New-York. The innovation even at that late day (1764) was stoutly resisted, and did not extend to the entire exclusion of the Dutch language from the church, as it continued to be used one half of the time for several years later.

Governor Stuyvesant was himself induced to continue his residence in the country, being somewhat advanced in years; and passed the remainder of his life on his *bouwerij* or farm, now constituting the greater portion of the eleventh and seventeenth, and a part of the sixteenth wards of the city.* He died in the early part of the year 1672, and his remains lie in a vault originally constructed by himself beneath a chapel on his estate. This edifice having fallen into decay, the late Petrus Stuyvesant, Esq., who succeeded to most of his ancestor's estates, induced the vestry of Trinity Church to erect a handsome structure upon the same site, to which he contributed liberally himself; and the corner stone of "St. Mark's Church in the Bowery," was accordingly laid on the 25th of April, 1795. At that time the foundation only of the chapel remained.

A recent publication† contains a genealogical notice of the descendants of Governor Stuyvesant; but as it is somewhat erroneous, as well as imperfect, in its details of dates, &c., it is here re-printed with some corrections.

* Bancroft, *Hist. United States*, ii. 294, has the following remarks under the year 1649:—"The island of New-York was then chiefly divided among farmers; the large forests which covered the Park and the adjacent region, long remained a common pasture, where, for yet a quarter of a century, tanners could obtain bark, and boys chestnuts; and the soil was so little valued, that Stuyvesant thought it no wrong to his employers to purchase of them at a small price an extensive bowery just beyond the coppices, among which browsed the goats and kine from the village." This is true in part; farming lands were cheap at that period, as well as the present, compared with real estate in the city. But we have found Van Twiller eleven years earlier (1638) taking a lease of a farm from Director Kieft, at an annual rent of 250 guilders, (above, p. 280;) and other instances might be adduced, showing that the lands on the island of Manhattan were then of considerable value. In regard to Governor Stuyvesant's estates, we have examined his titles to some extent, and find that in most instances they were derived from individuals instead of the Company. For example, in 1656, he purchased about fifty acres of land on the East river from William Beekman; Herman Smeeman had previously sold the same to Beekman, and Governor Kieft to Smeeman, April 2d, 1647. Again, there is a *grond-brief*, or deed, of thirty-nine morgen, (about eighty acres,) from Leendert Arenden to Peter Stuyvesant; the same having been conveyed to Arenden by Kieft, October 19th, 1645. This land is still chiefly held by descendants of Governor Stuyvesant, and embraces a compact part of the city.

† Dunlap's *Hist. of New-York*, ii. Appendix L.

PETRUS STUYVESANT and JUDITH BAYARD were married in Amsterdam, Holland, and arrived at New-Amsterdam, now New-York, May 27th, 1647. Their children were—

Balthazar Lazar, born 1647, died 1678.

Nicholas William, " 1648, " 1698.

BALTHAZAR removed to the West Indies, where he married and left two children—

Judith, born 1674, married ——— Edsall.

Katharine, " 1675, " Thos. Tasmacher.

NICHOLAS WILLIAM married Maria, daughter of William Beekman, vice-governor on the Delaware; she died, leaving one daughter—

Judith, died 1694, unmarried.

He afterwards married Elizabeth Slechtenhorst; their children were—

1. Petrus, born 1684, drowned 1706, unmarried.

2. Anna, " " died 1759.

3. Gerardus, " 1690, died 1777.*

ANNA married the Rev. Thomas Pritchard, of the Episcopal Church, who died 1706, without issue.

GERARDUS married Judith, youngest daughter of Balthazar Bayard. Their children were—

1. Nicholas William, born 1722, died 1780, unmarried.

2. Petrus, " " 1727, " 1805.

Two other sons, Petrus and Gerardus, died in infancy.

PETRUS married Margaret, daughter of Gilbert Livingston. Their children were—

1. Judith, the wife of Benjamin Winthrop, of New-York.

2. Cornelia, md. Dirck Ten Broeck, of Albany; she died 1825, leaving several children.

3. Nicholas William, md. Catharine Livingston Reade; he died 1833, leaving several children.

4. Margaret, died 1824, unmarried.

5. Elizabeth, now the widow of Col. Nicholas Fish; he died 1833, leaving several children.

6. Peter Gerard, md. Susan, daughter of Col. Thomas Barclay; after her decease, he md. Helen Sarah, daughter of Hon. John Rutherford, of New-Jersey.

Several others died in infancy.

A sister of Gov. Stuyvesant, named Anna, the widow of Nicholas Bayard, with her family, accompanied him to America. She had three sons,—Balthazar, Peter, and Nicholas.

Balthazar Bayard md. Marritje, (or Maria,) daughter of Govert Loockermans;† their children were—

1. Anna Maria, md. Augustus Jay, grandfather of Gov. Jay.

* Smith, writing in 1756, says that Gerardus Stuyvesant, a grandson of the Governor, was then possessed of his farm, and was a man of probity, being elected into the magistracy about thirty years successively. *Hist. of New-York*, i. 33. His residence and those of his two sons are marked on Ratzen's large map of the city in 1766-7. The former was destroyed by fire in Oct. 1778, being then occupied in part by Smith, the historian. Sir H. Clinton was at the same time quartered in the house of Nicholas William.

† See above, p. 379. A Dutch bible that once belonged to Govert Loockermans, is now in the library of the American Bible Society. It contains memoranda of his family written in Dutch, from which it appears that he was himself married to Ariantje Jans, at Amsterdam, in 1644.

2. Arietta, md. Samuel Verplanck.

3. Jacobus, md. Hillegond, daughter of Teunis De Kay.

4. Judith, md. Gerardus Stuyvesant abovenamed.*

The following paragraph gives some idea of the nature of the commercial intercourse between the colony and the mother country during Stuyvesant's administration. It is from a Dutch newspaper, printed at Haerlem, Holland, Sept. 17th, 1661; the paper was called *HAERLEMSE SATERDAEGHSE COURANT*, (the Haerlem Saturday Courant,) and printed partly in black-letter, on a quarter of a sheet of paper. The translation is by the late Judge Egbert Benson.

"Amsterdam, den 16 September. Voorleden Maendag arriveerde in Texel 't schip den Arent, uyt Nieu-Nederlant, geladen met toeback en weynigh peltery. 't Schip de Trou en 't schip de Klock lagen zeylreede, om daegs nae haer vertreck in zee te loopen, die nu alle daeghen werden verwacht, zijnde (soo men meynt) by Fairhil gesien. Met de Trou komt Mr. Wintrop, Gouverneur van Conectecut, als afgesant nevens den Predicant Mr. Stoon, aen zijn Maj. van Engelant. Den handel van toeback is redelijck geweest, maer van peltery slecht: anders stont alles in goeden stant. In de Sopus gingh de lantbouw dapper voort: in de Zuydt Revier desgelijcks. In 't begin van de somer was in Nieu-Engelant een grooten storm geweest, maer door verscheyde schepen waren gebléven."

Translation.

"Amsterdam, September 16. On Monday last arrived in the Texel the ship Arent, from New-Netherlands, laden with tobacco and some peltry. The ship Trou and the ship Klock lay ready to sail, [intending] daily to depart, and may now be daily expected, having been seen, as it is supposed, near Fairhill. In the Trou comes passenger Mr. Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, together with the Rev Mr. Stone, as agents to his Majesty of England. The trade in tobacco has been tolerable, but that in peltries indifferent. In every other respect matters are in good condition. In the Sopus [*Kingston*] the cultivation of the land proceeds briskly, as it does also on the South river. In the beginning of the summer there was a great storm in New-England, in which a number of ships were lost."

ANTHONY COLVE.

After the reconquest of New-Netherlands by the Dutch in 1673, Anthony Colve was made governor. He administered the government of the colony from August 12th, 1673, to October 31st, 1674, when the English again took possession by virtue of a treaty with the States of Holland, who received Surinam in exchange for New-Netherlands.

* We are indebted to Hamilton Fish, Esq., (a son of the late Col. Fish,) for many of the above details.

XVI.

HISTORICAL SKETCH
OF THE
NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY THE EDITOR.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE SOCIETY.

It was intended to include in the present volume some account of the origin and formation of this society, the objects its founders had in view, and the degree of success that has attended its labours at different periods. But the task of preparing such a paper having been deferred until other more important materials could be arranged, the work has in the meantime grown beyond the limits originally assigned to it, without leaving space for even a brief sketch of the institution. It is, nevertheless, proposed to take a rapid glance at the leading incidents in its short, but honorable career; reserving many of the more minute and individual details for another occasion.

The plan of forming a State Historical Association appears to have originated with the late Judge Benson and John Pintard, Esq., (the latter of whom is still living at an advanced age,) through whose exertions several meetings for the purpose were held in a room of the old City Hall, in the year 1804. After canvassing the matter for some time, the persons who had been invited to take part in the preliminary arrangements appointed a committee to draft a constitution, under which an organization finally took place. The minutes of the society contain the following record of the first regular meeting :—

“New-York, Nov. 20th, 1804. The following persons, viz:

Egbert Benson,	Rev. John M. Mason,
De Witt Clinton,	Rev. John N. Abeel,
Rev. William Linn,	Samuel Bayard,
Rev. Samuel Miller,	Peter G. Stuyvesant,
Dr. David Hosack,	Anthony Bleecker, and
John Pintard,	

being assembled in the Picture Room of the City Hall, in the city of New-York, agreed to form themselves into a society, the principal design of which should be to collect and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil, or ecclesiastical history of the United States in general, and of this state in particular, and appointed Mr. Benson, Dr. Miller, and Mr. Pintard, a committee to prepare and report a draft of a constitution. The meeting then adjourned until Monday evening, the 10th of December next.”

At the adjourned meeting, the following gentlemen were present :—

Egbert Benson, (Chairman,)	De Witt Clinton,
Rufus King,	Rev. John N. Abeel,
Rev. John M. Mason,	Rev. John C. Kunzé,
Rev. John Bowden,	Daniel D. Tompkins,
Rev. William Harris,	Peter G. Stuyvesant,
Prof. John Kemp,	Rev. John H. Hobart,
Dr. Peter Wilson,	Dr. David Hosack,
Rev. Samuel Miller,	Dr. Archibald Bruce, and
John Murray, Jr.,	John Pintard.

A constitution for the proposed society, to be called "the New-York Historical Society," was reported at this meeting, and finally adopted. The first meeting under it was holden on the 14th of January, 1805, when the society was fully organized by the choice of the following officers :—

"Egbert Benson, Esq., President,
 Right Rev. Bishop Moore, D.D., 1st Vice President,
 Brockholst Livingston, Esq., 2d Vice President,
 Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D., Corresponding Secretary,
 Mr. John Pintard, Recording Secretary,
 Charles Wilkes, Esq., Treasurer,
 Mr. John Forbes, Librarian.

Standing Committee.

William Johnson, Esq.,	Daniel D. Tompkins, Esq.,
Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell,	John M'Kesson, Esq.,
Dr. David Hosack,	Anthony Bleecker, Esq.,
Rev. John M. Mason, D. D."	

An excellent address to the public, setting forth the objects of the institution, together with several "queries as to those points on which the society requested particular information," and the constitution and by-laws of the society, were soon after printed in a pamphlet form, and extensively circulated. These documents were also inserted in the first volume of Collections.

Most of the gentlemen whose names have been mentioned as the founders and original members of the society, are too well known, from their high reputation in the community, to require any notice at our hands. Among them will be immediately recognized the names of eminent divines, illustrious statesmen and distinguished jurists, together with others not less esteemed in their day for professional skill, literary taste, and classical or scientific attainments. Of the whole number, four only survive, viz., the Rev. Dr. Miller, now of Princeton

College, N. J., and Messrs. Pintard, Stuyvesant, and Johnson, of New-York.

The foundation of a library seems to have been laid in the spring of 1807, by the adoption of the following resolution :—

“The recording secretary, [Mr. Pintard,] having represented that he is in possession of a considerable number of books relating to the history of America, which he is willing to dispose of at the original cost, *resolved*, that the standing committee be authorized to purchase said books for the use of the society.”

The liberal donations subsequently made, together with other purchases, soon formed a respectable library in the department of American history. The late Timothy Alden, D.D., (afterwards President of Meadville College, Penn.,) being on a visit to this city in 1813, offered his services for the preparation of a catalogue, which the society readily accepted ; and the catalogue thus prepared was immediately printed, at first, separately, and afterwards in the second volume of the Collections.

The meetings were for some time holden in the old City Hall, often called Federal Hall, from its having been occupied by the Congress of the United States after the adoption of the federal constitution.* It was on the balcony of this edifice that Washington was inaugurated the first President of the United States,—an event recently commemorated by the society. In 1809, a communication was received from the Academy of Arts, inviting the society to occupy a room in the Government House ; the invitation was promptly accepted, and in September of the same year the first meeting was held there. The north-west room in the second story of that building was appropriated to the society. The books which had been previously kept in the ‘City Library,’ were removed to the same place. The prospects of the society now began to brighten ; numerous resident and honorary members were elected, and the patriotic objects of the institution rendered it deservedly popular. Application was made to the legislature for an act of incorporation, and seconded by the powerful aid of the great Clinton, then a leading member in the state senate, who presented a strong and able report in its favour, the society obtained a charter that placed it on a firm and substantial foundation.

In the same year, (1809,) Mr. Tompkins having been elected governor of the state, was excused from serving on the standing committee, and De Witt Clinton was elected in his place. The following resolution was adopted at the January meeting :—

* Some of the desks, &c., used in this building for the accommodation of Congress, now serve to furnish the rooms of the society.

"This year commencing the third century since the discovery of this part of North America by Henry Hudson, *resolved*, That this society will commemorate the important event, and that the Rev. Dr. Miller, corresponding secretary, be requested to prepare a discourse for the occasion." A committee was appointed at the same time "to examine and ascertain the exact date of this discovery," who subsequently reported, 'that the Journal of the Voyage of Henry Hudson, contained in Purchas' Pilgrims, appeared to be the most authentic and satisfactory document on the subject, and that Captain Hudson, who sailed from Holland in the month of March, 1609, discovered and entered the river since called by his name, on the fourth day of September following." That day was accordingly designated for the proposed celebration.

The use of the front court room in Federal Hall was granted to the society for the occasion, where "the Rev. Dr. Miller delivered a learned and interesting discourse, illustrative of this event, before a large and respectable audience of ladies and gentlemen, among whom were his Excellency the Governor, and the Mayor and Corporation of the city." After the discourse, the society adjourned to the City Hotel where together with a number of invited guests, "they sat down to an elegant dinner, consisting of a variety of shell and other fish with which our waters abound, wild pigeons and *succatash*, the favorite dish of the season, with the different meats introduced into this country by the European settlers."* The toasts and sentiments offered on this interesting occasion, are faithfully recorded in the minutes of the society.

This festival led to the publication of the first volume of Collections; a committee having been appointed after the delivery of the discourse, "to report materials for forming a volume of the proceedings of this society, together with such tracts relating to the history of this country as may merit re-publication." The committee consisted of Messrs. Miller, Johnson, Pintard, and Anthony Bleecker. Mr. Johnson is well known to the public as the able reporter of the decisions of the supreme court of this state. Mr. Bleecker was also a member of the bar, but although respected in his profession for learning and integrity, he was more successful in the cultivation of his literary talents, which he displayed in occasional contributions, both in prose and poetry, to the periodical literature of the day. "For thirty years," says a late writer, "the periodical literature of New-York and Philadelphia was constantly indebted to his fancy and good taste."†

* Minutes of the Society.

† Specimens of American Poetry, ii. 381. Mr. Bleecker died in the spring of 1827. There is an excellent portrait of him in the Society Library.

The discourse of Dr. Miller appeared in the volume, and was followed by several valuable documents from Purchas, including the journals of Hudson's four voyages. The laws of the Duke of York's government over the colony were also republished. This volume deserves the credit of being more strictly confined to the objects of the society, in collecting rare and curious materials for the historian, than those that followed it, which are chiefly made up of occasional addresses, delivered, indeed, before the society, but often on subjects that claim slight connexion with the history of the country. This was not, however, invariably the case; the discourses of Clinton, Gouverneur Morris, Verplanck, Hosack, and Jarvis, are not only fine exhibitions of eloquence and general learning, but valuable illustrations of historical data which the student of American history cannot fail to appreciate. The occasion on which they were delivered was an annual festival of the society, generally celebrated on St. Nicholas day, the sixth of December. The customary place of dining on these occasions was for several years at *Kent's Hotel*, No. 42 Broad-street.

The influence of De Witt Clinton continued to be exercised for the benefit of the society. In 1814, he drafted a memorial to the Legislature on its behalf, setting forth in a clear and masterly manner the important objects of the institution, and making a strong and successful appeal to the liberality of the two houses for its encouragement. In this memorial, he divided the civil history of the state into four parts:—

“1. When occupied by the aborigines.

2. When under the government of the Dutch, which was about half a century.

3. Its state under England, which continued about one hundred and twelve years, and which includes the proprietary government of the Duke of York, and its government under the kings of Great Britain, excepting about sixteen months, when it was re-possest by the Dutch.

4. And lastly, its political existence as a member of an independent government.”

He then proceeded to show, says Renwick,* “in what a scattered state even the records were, whence alone an authentic history of these several periods could be derived. The Indian tribes were fast disappearing before the moral force of civilization; the mounds, ramparts and tumuli of a yet earlier race were yielding to the plough and harrow; while the records of the official treaties between the Five Nations and the colonial authorities, were in the hands of an expatriated family. The history of the emigrants from Holland, and of the protestant families of Belgium, who had preferred to encounter the dangers of the seas

* *Life of De Witt Clinton*, by James Renwick. 115.

and the terrors of the wilderness to submission to the bloody rule of Alva, were in the archives of the Dutch West India Company. Much of the manuscript history of the British colonial period was in the public offices of London, or transferred to the library of the British Museum. While, even for the period which had elapsed since the revolution, no provision had been made for the preservation of the pamphlets, the periodicals, and the daily publications, which, however they may be despised after their first ephemeral interest has subsided, become, after the lapse of years, the vivid expression of the feelings, the manners, and the principles of the era which gave them birth."

"This memorial," continues the biographer of Clinton, "was favorably received by the legislature, and led to a grant of twelve thousand dollars in aid of the funds of the society. The grant was to be received from the avails of a lottery, and the society unluckily engaged its credit in the purchase of books and of manuscripts, ere it was known how distant and precarious were the proceeds of this mode of raising money. It thus became involved in a debt which was not extinguished without many and severe sacrifices. It had, however, before its usefulness was impeded by the pressure of this debt, published several volumes of transactions, which are of much value. Its library still remains an evidence of the liberality of the state, and a monument of the earnestness with which Clinton furthered such institutions as were intended to add to the permanent reputation of the country."

The debt incurred by the society in anticipation of the funds to be received from the lottery, amounted to several thousand dollars, and was chiefly assumed by the librarian, Dr. John W. Francis, to whom a mortgage on the property of the society was executed by way of security. At length, after a long continued struggle with pecuniary embarrassments and difficulties, an arrangement was entered into with Union College, by which the society agreed to take eight thousand dollars in cash for its lottery interest, out of which sum, in 1823, the debts were paid. It is just to add, that but for the liberal advances made by Dr. Francis on account of the society, and his indefatigable exertions to maintain its credit and usefulness at that period, its valuable library and cabinet might have been sacrificed to the discharge of its pecuniary obligations.

Many valuable additions were made to the library during the time [1812—1819] that Dr. Francis officiated as librarian. Among the original papers, was the military correspondence of Gen. Gates. These were obtained through the influence of the celebrated Robert Fulton, then a resident member of the society. It seems that they had been bequeathed by Gen. Gates to Joel Barlow, who contemplated writing a history of the revolution; but on the death of Barlow, in Europe, his widow had been

induced by Mr. Fulton to transfer them to the society. The trunk in which they were contained, was in the possession of the latter at the time of his decease, and in July, 1816, their reception by the society was duly announced. In the following year, Mrs. Morris, of Morrisania, relict of Gouverneur Morris, presented to the society portraits of Columbus, Americus Vesputius, Cortez, and Magellan, copied from the originals, it is said, in the Florence Gallery. To these has been recently added a copy of an original portrait of Sebastian Cabot, for which the society is indebted to the artist, Mr. C. G. Thompson.

In 1814, Dr. Hosack succeeded the Rev. Dr. Miller as corresponding secretary, the latter having accepted a professorship in Princeton College, which he yet fills. The society thus lost one of its most active and useful members, to whose exertions it had been greatly indebted from the beginning. Dr. Hosack likewise took a lively interest in the prosperity of the society, and for several years was among its warmest friends. He was elected President on the resignation of De Witt Clinton, in 1820, and delivered several discourses before the institution, in which he displayed great learning and historical research.

In 1815, notice was given to the society that the Government House was to be sold, and that the corporation had appropriated the large building in the rear of the new City Hall for the use of this and other institutions. The following year the society accordingly removed to spacious rooms in that building, to which the name of the New-York Institution was then given. The Government House was taken down about the same time, and the grounds it had occupied were soon covered with the handsome block of houses now fronting the Bowling Green. This was originally the site of Fort Amsterdam, which after the conquest was called Fort James, in compliment to the Duke of York; in the reign of William and Mary, Fort William; and in the following reigns, Fort Anne and Fort George. In 1790, the legislature passed an act authorizing the corporation to demolish Fort George, and to level the ground on which it was situated, a part being reserved for public purposes, and a part vested in the corporation for the erection of public buildings, or works of defence. The same act appointed commissioners for the purpose of causing "a proper house and other necessary buildings to be erected on some part of the lands for the use of the government of this state, and to be applied to the temporary use and accommodation of the President of the United States, during such times as congress shall hold their sessions in the city of New-York." Such was the origin of the Government House. Congress having removed to Philadelphia before the completion of the edifice, it was never occupied by the President, as originally intended, but was the residence of the gov-



Site of the House 1795, Mass. N. Y.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

NEW-YORK, 1795.

Drawn for the N. Y. Historical Society

ernors of the state until Albany became the seat of government. It was thus occupied successively by George Clinton and John Jay. A publication of 1814 describes this building in the following manner :—

“At its source, [Broadway,] on the spot where Fort George formerly stood, stands a large brick edifice, built by the legislature, and originally intended for the residence of the governor of the state. It is most pleasantly situated, having a handsome area, called the Bowling Green, and affording a complete prospect of the bay and Jersey shore. At present [1814] the upper apartments are appropriated to the use of the Academy of Arts and the Historical Society. The lower part is rented to government for the accommodation of the collector, naval officer, and surveyor of the port.”*

The plan of the society originally comprised natural as well as civil history, and at one period considerable attention was paid to the collection of minerals and specimens in the former department. Dr. Mitchell, De Witt Clinton, and Col. George Gibbs, were among the most zealous amateurs of natural science, and the latter gentleman, who was chairman of the mineralogical committee, was particularly active in promoting an attention to his favorite study. But the Lyceum of Natural History having been formed at that period for the exclusive pursuit of those branches of science, it was proposed to present to that institution the specimens, &c., collected by the society, which was accordingly done.

An extensive and valuable cabinet of coins and medals was presented to the society in 1818, by the heirs of the Rev. Dr. Kunzé, a pastor of the Lutheran Church in Frankfort-street from 1784 till his decease in 1807, and professor of Oriental Literature in Columbia College. Dr. Kunzé was a native of Germany, and enjoyed a high reputation for learning and talents among his contemporaries. A portrait of him adorns the rooms of the society. The Colden and Schuyler papers were added to the manuscript collections at about the same time; and among the books were complete sets of the *Moniteur*, Rymer's *Fœdera*, and many original Spanish works of great value relating to Mexico and South America.

Notwithstanding the liberal grant of the legislature, the society became again seriously embarrassed by debt, and so desperate was its condition regarded that, in 1826, it was determined to dispose of two-thirds of the library to meet its obligations. Recourse was again had to the legislature. A memorial setting forth its financial difficulties was drawn up, and Frederic De Peyster, Esq. was requested to proceed with it to Albany

* *Strangers' Guide*, &c., by Thomas N. Stanford. The accompanying view is copied from the *New-York Magazine* for January, 1795.

as the agent of the society. Mr. De Peyster accordingly repaired to Albany during the session of 1827, and, with the aid of Gov. Clinton, succeeded in obtaining a grant of five thousand dollars, on condition that the debts of the society should be so reduced as to render that sum sufficient to extinguish them altogether. The thanks of the society were afterwards presented to the governor and the legislature for this liberal donation; and to Mr. De Peyster, "for his zealous, efficient, and disinterested services in proceeding to Albany, and presenting to the legislature the claims of the society."

Three volumes of Collections had already been published: a fourth was now added, (1828,) containing a continuation of Smith's History of New-York to the year 1762, from the original MS. of the author, presented for the purpose by his son, William Smith, Esq., of Quebec. The first volume, originally printed in London, in 1757, came down to 1732; and the society, in 1829, reprinted both volumes in a handsome uniform edition, under the editorial care of Dr. Francis, John Delafield, Esq., and Dr. Hosack.* A memoir of the author, written by his son, was prefixed to this edition.

The occasional publications of the society have been numerous. The catalogue of the library, the memorials to the legislature with accompanying documents, Dr. Hosack's memoir of Hugh Williamson, originally delivered before the society, and besides the annual addresses inserted in the Collections, first printed separately, those of Chancellor Kent, (now republished,) William Sampson, the celebrated Irish patriot, Joseph Blunt, and William Beach Lawrence, Esqrs., were severally printed. The memoir or discourse of the venerable EGBERT BENSON, the first President of the society, delivered in 1816, was printed at his own expense. This circumstance arose from objections having been made to certain portions of the discourse by individuals, who were desirous they should be omitted if published by the society. At these suggestions Judge Benson took offence, as appears from some remarks relating to the subject published with the memoir. He printed a new edition of it with more copious notes, in 1825, at Jamaica, Long Island, where he resided during the latter part of his life. He died on the twenty-fourth of August, 1833, at the age of eighty-seven years.†

Judge Benson's discourse is a remarkable production, both as to matter and style. It professedly treats of local names in this state, whether of Indian or European origin; but while pur-

* It is a matter of regret that the original preface of the author was omitted in this edition. A continuation of Smith's first volume was commenced by J. V. N. Yates, Esq., but not extended far. It was printed at Albany.

† An interesting memoir of Judge Benson, from the pen of Chancellor Kent, is contained in Thompson's History of Long Island, pp. 408—410.

suing his curious investigations in relation to this subject, he glances at many striking peculiarities in the manners and customs of the early Dutch inhabitants, (among whom were the Judge's own ancestors,) and throws some light upon the social condition of the primitive colony. The style of the memoir is, perhaps, its most eccentric feature. Aiming at a most rigid conciseness of language, often to the exclusion of connecting particles in the construction of his sentences, he becomes obscure, and even unintelligible, without the exercise of great patience and resolution on the part of his readers. The memoir is altogether so singular a production, that we are not surprised it offended persons of fastidious taste, watchful of the dignity of the society as represented by its presiding officers. At the same time it deserves a careful perusal in connexion with other works relating to the early history of New-York.

In 1832, the society again removed, after occupying its rooms in the New-York Institution sixteen years by a gratuitous lease from the city corporation. On the nineteenth of April, in that year, possession was taken of a new hall in Remsen's building at the corner of Broadway and Chambers street, on which occasion a learned discourse was delivered by William Beach Lawrence, Esq., in the presence of a numerous assemblage. This change of location proved unfavorable to the interests of the society. The rent of the hall, (five hundred dollars per annum,) and other expenditures, led to the creation of a new debt, for which the treasurer, John Delafield, Esq., was responsible; and it soon became necessary in order to preserve the property of the institution, to make arrangements for the diminution of its current expenses. During a period of three or four years, (1833—1836,) no minutes of the meetings are preserved. At length, in 1836, measures were taken for relieving the society from its embarrassments; the treasurer was authorized to raise one thousand dollars on the credit of the institution, and a committee raised to select a new location. Mr. Delafield having resigned the office of treasurer, John Glover, Esq., was elected in his place; but this gentleman soon after resigning the office, Hickson W. Field, Esq., was elected at the November meeting. This gentleman deserves great credit for the ability and attention with which, during a period of four years, he managed the finances of the society. On retiring from office, he had the satisfaction of leaving the institution entirely freed from its pecuniary difficulties, and in a highly prosperous condition.

Several offers were made at this period by different public institutions for the gratuitous accommodation of the society; among them was "the Stuyvesant Institute," an association for literary purposes, recently incorporated, by whom an elegant

building had been erected on Broadway. A committee, of which the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D.D., (then an active and efficient member of the society,) was chairman, reported in favour of accepting the proposals of that institution, in which the society concurred. The library was accordingly removed thither in the summer of 1837, and a gratuitous lease of two spacious rooms was soon after received for the term of ten years. The first meeting was held there on the twenty-eighth of September in that year.

Effectual measures were now taken to restore the prosperity of the society. Among other means resorted to for this purpose, a public course of historical lectures was determined upon, which were commenced in January, 1838, by a brilliant discourse from Rev. Dr. Hawks, before a crowded assemblage in the spacious lecture room of the Stuyvesant Institute. This was followed by a series of lectures, chiefly from members of the society, which were fully attended. The pecuniary proceeds of this course of lectures sufficed to extinguish the debts of the society.

At the meeting in April, of the same year, a resolution (offered by the Editor) was adopted by the society, to memorialize the legislature on the subject of collecting materials in Europe illustrative of the history of New-York. The memorial was presented so near the close of the session of that year, that it was deemed expedient by the friends of the measure to allow it to pass over to the next legislature, when, through the unwearied exertions of John L. Stephens, Esq. in urging its importance upon the members of both houses, after it had been introduced to their favorable notice by a special message from Governor Seward, it was carried with great unanimity. During the present season, John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., has been appointed by the Governor and Senate the agent of the State under the act thus passed, who has already sailed for Europe to discharge the duties of his mission. Mr. Brodhead, having resided for sometime in the Netherlands as an *attaché* to the legation of the United States, and being familiar with the language of the Fatherland, will enjoy great facilities for the discovery of any historical documents, connected with the early settlement of the state, that may exist in the national archives or individual collections of that country.

Beside this attention to the views of the society, the legislature during its recent session (1841), in compliance with another recommendation, has determined to print the journals of the New York Provincial Congress and Convention, together with the proceedings of the Committee of Safety, from May, 1775, to the adoption of the state constitution and the close of the northern campaign, in 1777. For two years and a half these

bodies exercised legislative powers, at a most trying and momentous period in the history of this state ; but their journals having remained in the hands of the secretary, the late John M'Kesson, Esq., were not deposited among the archives of the government until about twenty years since. They include the period of the invasion of the territory of the state by the British army under General Burgoyne, and constitute altogether a most important mass of public documents. Great credit is due to the Hon. Gabriel Furman, of the Senate, and Hon. William B. Maclay, of the Assembly, for their attention to the memorial of the society in reference to the publication of these papers.

A second course of historical lectures during the following season proved even more successful than the first. The proceeds were devoted to the enlargement of the library, to which considerable accessions have been consequently made. Liberal donations of books and manuscripts began to be received. Among the latter a highly valuable mass of original papers and maps, together with the printed report, relating to the subject of the North-Eastern Boundary, was presented by the Hon. ALBERT GALLATIN, formerly one of the Commissioners of the United States for the settlement of that question. These important documents comprise the journal of the Commissioners and several manuscript maps that have not been published.

The fiftieth anniversary of Washington's first inauguration as President of the United States, was celebrated with great spirit by the society. The splendid address delivered on the occasion by the Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, will be an ever-during memorial of that noble festival ; and the recollections of those who participated in it cannot fail to partake of the bright and agreeable character that marked the occasion. To the chairman of the committee of arrangements, Joseph Blunt, Esq., by whom the plan of the celebration was conceived, and admirably carried out, great credit is due.

A new necessity for a change of location has recently arisen, in consequence of the sale of the Institute under the foreclosure of a mortgage of a date prior to the society's lease. In this emergency it has received the offer of two valuable lots of ground from Peter G. Stuyvesant, Esq., for the erection of a building to answer the future purposes of the institution, and for its exclusive use. It was deemed inexpedient, however, to make the necessary exertion at present to raise the amount of money required for this object, on which the offer of the lots was conditioned ; and in the meantime a liberal proposal from the New-York University has been accepted. But it is hoped that before many years a substantial edifice may be erected for the sole and permanent accommodation of the society, so that the increasing and valuable literary treasures and works of art

belonging to it, may no longer be exposed to loss and injury by frequent removals.

We have thus brought to a close a rapid sketch of the more prominent points in the proceedings of the society during the thirty-six years of its existence. They have been, almost without exception, gleaned from its recorded minutes, and might have been easily extended, had our space permitted. We reserve for another occasion the more ample details that were originally intended to be comprised in the present paper.

SYNOPSIS OF LECTURES DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY.

First Course—1838.

	<i>Subjects.</i>
Introductory by F. L. HAWKS, D.D.,	Pocahontas.
Two lectures by WM. S. WALKER,	The aborigines of America.
“ “ JOSEPH BLUNT,	The origin of the civil and political institutions of the United States.
One lecture by SAMUEL WARD, JR.,	Arnold's expedition to Quebec, 1775.
“ “ WILLIAM L. STONE,	Brant, the Mohawk Chief, and the Wyoming massacre.
“ “ CHAS. R. KING, M.D.,	The Huguenots in America.
Two lectures by GEORGE FOLSOM,	The discovery of America by the Northmen in the tenth century.
One lecture by JOHN O. SARGENT,	The siege of Boston in 1775-6.
“ “ CHARLES KING,	Sir Edmund Andros.

Second Course—1839.

Introductory by MANTON EASTBURN, D.D.	Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne.
One lecture by JOHN L. STEPHENS,	The life and character of Mohammed Ali.
“ “ CALER S. HENRY, D.D.,	Witchcraft.
“ “ SAMUEL WARD, JR.,	The battle of Long Island, 1776.
“ “ JOHN R. BARTLETT,	The supposed expedition of Madoc, Prince of Wales, with a Welch colony to America, in the 12th century.
“ “ F. L. HAWKS, D.D.,	Capt. John Smith, and the settlement of Virginia.
“ “ WM. W. CAMPBELL,	Gen. James Clinton, of New York.
“ “ GEORGE BANCROFT,	The colonial rivalry of England and France.
“ “ GEO. W. BETHUNE, D.D.	Holland.
“ “ JOHN O. SARGENT,	Mirabeau.
“ “ JOHN W. EDMONDS,	Observations on the Indian character.
“ “ GEORGE FOLSOM,	The life and voyages of Americus Vesputius.

Third Course—1840.

Introductory by ORVILLE DEWEY, D.D.	Philosophy of History.
One lecture by Hon. WM. B. REED,	The infancy of the Union.
“ “ ALEX. W. BRADFORD,	The origin of the American Indians.

(This course was not completed.)

Fourth Course—1841.

Introductory by JOHN L. STEPHENS,	Antiquities of Central America.
Two lectures by FRANCIS CATHERWOOD,	Same subject.

OFFICERS

OF THE

NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FROM ITS ORGANIZATION, JAN. 14th, 1805.

<i>Elected.</i>	PRESIDENTS.	<i>Retired.</i>
1805	*Hon. EGBERT BENSON, LL.D.	1816
1816	*Hon. GOUVERNEUR MORRIS,	1817
1817	*His Exc. DE WITT CLINTON, LL.D.	1820
1820	*DAVID HOSACK, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.	1828
1828	Hon. JAMES KENT, LL.D.	1832
1832	His Exc. MORGAN LEWIS,	1836
1836	PETER GERARD STUYVESANT,	1840
1840	PETER AUGUSTUS JAY, LL.D.	
VICE-PRESIDENTS.		
1805	*Rt. Rev. BENJAMIN MOORE, D.D.	1810
"	*Hon. BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON,	"
1810	*Hon. GOUVERNEUR MORRIS,	1816
"	*DE WITT CLINTON, LL.D.	1817
1817	WILLIAM JOHNSON,	1818
"	*DAVID HOSACK, M.D.	1819
1818	Col. JOHN TRUMBULL,	1828
1819	*Hon. SAMUEL L. MITCHELL, M.D. LL.D.	1820
1820	*ANTHONY BLEECKER,	1821
1821	*Hon. CADWALLADER D. COLDEN,	1824
1823	PETER A. JAY, LL.D.	1828
1828	PHILIP HONE,	1840
"	CHARLES KING,	1832
1832	*SAMUEL WARD,	1836
1836	WILLIAM BEACH LAWRENCE,	
1840	Rev. THOMAS DE WITT, D.D.	
CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.		
1805	Rev. SAMUEL MILLER, D.D.	1814
1814	*DAVID HOSACK, M.D.	1817
1817	JOHN W. FRANCIS, M.D.	1819
1819	*LYMAN SPALDING, M.D.	1821
1821	*Rev. FREDERICK C. SCHAEFFER,	1822
1822	HENRY M. FRANCIS, M.D.	1827
1827	FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, Jr.	1829

[NOTE.—This office was merged in that of Recording Secretary in 1829, and revived in 1838.]

1838 FREDERIC DE PEYSTER.

* Deceased.

Elected.

RECORDING SECRETARIES.

Retired.

1805	JOHN PINTARD, LL.D.	1820
1820	JOHN B. BECK, M.D.	1823
1823	MATTHEW C. PATTERSON,	1824
1824	*BENJAMIN HAIGHT,	1828
1828	JOSEPH BLUNT,	1829
1829	FREDERIC DE PEYSTER,	1838
1838	BENJAMIN R. WINTHROP,	1839
1839	JOHN C. JAY, M.D.	1840
1840	BENJAMIN R. WINTHROP,	

TREASURERS.

1805	*CHARLES WILKES,	1819
1819	JOHN PINTARD, LL.D.	1828
1828	JOHN DELAFIELD,	1836
1836	HICKSON W. FIELD,	1840
1840	ARCHIBALD RUSSELL,	

LIBRARIANS.

1805	*JOHN FORBES,	1810
1810	JOHN PINTARD, LL.D.	1812
1812	JOHN W. FRANCIS, M.D.	1819
1819	*Rev. FREDERICK C. SCHAEFFER,	1821
1821	HENRY M. FRANCIS, M.D.	1822
1822	MATTHEW C. PATTERSON,	1823
1823	HENRY W. DUCACHET, M.D.	1824
1824	ROBERT GREENHOW, M.D.	1827
1827	*RICHARD RAY,	1828
1828	*JAMES A. HILLHOUSE,	1829
1829	JOHN DELAFIELD, Jr.	1831
1831	SAMUEL WARD, 3d.	1836
1836	JOSEPH BLUNT,	1839
1839	GEORGE FOLSOM.	

STANDING COMMITTEE.

1805	WILLIAM JOHNSON,	1816
"	*SAMUEL L. MITCHELL, M.D.	1819
"	*DAVID HOSACK, M.D.	1814
"	*Rev. JOHN M. MASON, D.D.	1818
"	*His Exc. DANIEL D. TOMPKINS,	1809
"	*JOHN M'KESSON,	1818
"	*ANTHONY BLEECKER,	1820
1809	*DE WITT CLINTON, LL.D.	1810
1810	HON. GULIAN C. VERPLANCK, LL.D.	1823
1814	PETER A. JAY, LL.D.	1821
1816	Rev. SAMUEL F. JARVIS, D.D.	1817
1817	*JAMES EASTBURN,	1820
1818	*JOHN G. BOGERT,	1821
"	*Gen. JACOB MORTON,	1820
1819	*J. W. BRACKETT,	1821
1820	*THOMAS EDDY.	1823

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

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Elected.

1820	JOHN W. FRANCIS, M.D.
1821	WILLIAM GRACIE,
"	*ANTHONY BLEECKER,
"	MATTHEW C. PATTERSON,
"	H. W. DUCACHET, M.D.
1822	*ZACHARIAH LEWIS,
"	*EZRA WEEKS,
1823	WILLIAM L. STONE,
"	JOHN B. BECK, M.D.
1824	WILLIAM COOPER,
1825	*ROBERT C. SANDS,
"	JOSEPH BLUNT,
"	JAMES E. DE KAY, M.D.
1828	HENRY BREVOORT,
"	*WILLIAM SAMPSON,
"	HUGH MAXWELL,
"	*SAMUEL WARD.

Retired.

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[NOTE.—This Committee was abolished by an amendment of the Constitution of the Society, passed Jan. 13, 1829.]

COMMITTEE ON PRINTED PUBLICATIONS.

1837	FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D.D.	1839
"	FREDERIC DE PEYSTER,	1840
"	HENRY M. FRANCIS, M.D.	1839
1839	GEORGE FOLSOM,	1840
"	JOHN L. STEPHENS,	"
1841	GEORGE GIBBS,	
"	ARCHIBALD RUSSELL,	
"	JOHN R. BARTLETT.	

COMMITTEE ON MANUSCRIPTS.

1837	GEORGE B. RAPELYE,	
"	GOUVERNEUR MORRIS WILKINS,	
"	GEORGE FOLSOM,	1839
1839	ARCHIBALD RUSSELL,	1840
"	GEORGE GIBBS,	"
1840	JOHN KNOX, D.D.	1841
"	WILLIAM W. CAMPBELL,	"
1841	PROSPER M. WETMORE.	

MEMBERS

OF THE

NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

[NOTE.—The names of members deceased or resigned are omitted in this list.]

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Alley, Saul	De Kay, James E., M.D.
Amory, Jonathan	De Peyster, Frederic
Anthon, Henry, D.D.	Dillon, Robert J.
Aspinwall, William H.	Dorr, George B.
Astor, William B.	Draper, John W., M.D.
	Draper, Simeon
Baldwin, Micah	Dubois, Cornelius, Jr.
Barron, Thomas	Duer, John
Bartlett, John R.	Duyckinck, Evert A.
Beebee, Samuel J.	
Beekman, James W.	Eames, Charles
Beers, Joseph D.	Eastburn, Manton, D.D.
Betts, Hon. Samuel R.	Edmonds, John W.
Blatchford, E. H.	Emmet, Thomas A.
Bleecker, James W.	
Blunt, Joseph	Fessenden, Thomas
Borrowe, James H. M.D.	Field, David D.
Boorman, James	Field, Hickson W.
Bradford, Alex. W.	Fish, Hamilton
Brodhead, John R.	Fleming, Gen. Augustus
Bucknor, William G.	Folsom, George
Butler, Charles	Fowler, Joseph
	Francis, Henry M., M.D.
Campbell, William W.	Francis, John W., M.D.
Catlin, George	Frelinghuysen, Hon. Theodore, LL.D.
Clark, L. Gaylord	Furman, Hon. Gabriel
Coffin, Edmund	
Cogswell, Joseph G.	Gibbs, George
Coit, Joshua	Gilchrist, Robert
Colden, David C.	Glover, John
Colgate, Charles	Goodhue, Jonathan
Constant, Joseph H.	Graham, John L.
Cotheal, Alex. J.	Griffin, Francis
Cruger, Bertram P.	
Cruger, John C.	Haggerty, James
	Haggerty, John
Dana, Alexander H.	

Haight, Rev. Benjamin I.
 Hall, Hon. Willis
 Hamilton, John C.
 Hawks, Francis L., D.D.
 Henry, C. S., D.D.
 Herring, James
 Hicks, Henry W.
 Hobart, Dayton
 Hoffman, Charles F.
 Hoffman, Hon. Murray
 Hoffman, Hon. Ogden
 Hone, Philip
 Hosack, Alex. H., M.D.

Inman, Henry
 Irving, Washington

Jay, John
 Jay, John C., M.D.
 JAY, Peter A., LL.D. (Pres.)
 Johnson, Prof. E. A.
 Johnston, John
 Jones, David S.
 Jones, James J.
 Jones, Hon. Samuel

Kelly, William
 KENT, Hon. James, LL.D.,
 (Pres.)
 King, Charles
 King, Charles R., M.D.
 King, John A.

Laight, Edward W.
 Laight, Henry
 Lawrence, John L.
 Lawrence, Richard M.
 Lawrence, William B.
 Ledyard, Henry
 LEWIS, Hon. Morgan (Pres.)
 Livingston, Charles L.
 Lord, Rufus L.
 Low, Cornelius
 Ludlow, Ezra
 Ludlow, Thomas W.

Mackenzie, Alexander Sli-
 dell, U.S.N.
 Mactier, Alexander
 Maroncelli, Piero

Mason, Prof. Cyrus
 M'Cracken, John L. H.
 Mercein, Thomas R.
 Meredith, Samuel
 Mills, Abraham
 Minturn, Robert B.
 Moore, Jacob B.
 Morris, Gerard W.
 Morris, Gouverneur
 Morris, James V. C.
 Mumford, William W. (Ro-
 chester.)
 Murray, James B.
 Murray, John R.
 Murray, Robert J.

Nathan, Jonathan
 Neilson, Anthony B.
 Neilson, John, Jr.
 Neilson, William H.
 Nevins, David H.
 Nevins, Russell H.
 Nicoll, Henry
 Noah, M. M.
 Noyes, William Curtis

Ogden, Richard H.
 Olmstead, Francis
 O'Rielly, Henry, (Roches-
 ter.)

Packwood, Samuel
 Palmer, John J.
 Paulding, Hon. James K.
 Pearsall, Thomas W.
 Pearson, Isaac G.
 Peck, Rev. Isaac
 Pell, Ferris
 Peters, Absalom, D.D.
 Phillips, William, D.D.
 Pierrepont, Henry E.
 Post, Alfred C., M.D.
 Powers, William P.
 Prime, Edward
 Putnam, George P.

Rapelye, George B.
 Rhinelander, William C.
 Richmond, Rev. William
 Robbins, George S.

Robinson, Beverley
 Robinson, Morris
 Rogers, Benjamin W.
 Rogers, J. Smyth, M.D.
 Russell, Archibald
 Russell, Charles H.
 Rutherford, Walter

Sanford, Charles W.
 Sargent, John O.
 Schell, Augustus
 Schell, Richard
 Sedgwick, Theodore
 Sidell, John A.
 Silliman, Benjamin D.
 Smith, Jotham
 Stephens, John L.
 Stevens, John A.
 Stevens, Alex. H., M.D.
 Stone, William L.
 Stuyvesant, Peter
 STUYVESANT, P. G. (Pres.)
 Sullivan, George

Thompson, C. Giovanni
 Tomes, Francis, Jr.

Van Rensselaer, Robert
 Verplanck, Hon. Gulian C.
 Verplanck, Samuel

Waddington, William D.
 Wainwright, John M., D.D.
 Ward, Elijah
 Ward, Richard R.
 Ward, Samuel
 Washington, John A., M.D.
 Webb, James Watson
 Weeks, J. Abeel
 Weir, Robert R.
 Weld, H. Hastings
 Welford, Charles
 Wetmore, Gen. Prosper M.
 Wilkins, Gouverneur M.
 Willett, Edward M.
 Williams, Stephen C.
 Winthrop, Benjamin R.
 Winthrop, Henry R.
 Winthrop, John S.
 Wolcott, Fred. H.
 Wolfe, Christopher

Zabriskie, Martin R.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

Adams, Hon. John Quincy,
 Adams, Jasper, D.D.,
 Allen, William, D.D.,
 Allston, Washington,
 Armstrong, Gen. John,*
 Bacon, Leonard, D.D.,
 Bancroft, George,
 Barlow, Timothy,
 Beck, Lewis C.,
 Bethune, George W., D.D.
 Binney, Horace,

Massachusetts.
South Carolina.
Maine.
Massachusetts.
New-York.
Connecticut.
Massachusetts.
Illinois.
Missouri.
Pennsylvania.

„

* By a former provision of the constitution of the society, residents in the state of New-York were eligible as honorary members. This is not now the case.

Brackenridge, Henry W.,	<i>Pennsylvania.</i>
Bradford, Alden, LL.D.	<i>Massachusetts.</i>
Channing, William E., D.D.,	"
Chauncey, Hon. Charles,	<i>Connecticut.</i>
Coffin, Rev. Charles,	<i>Tennessee.</i>
Cogswell, William, D.D.,	<i>Dartmouth Coll., N. H.</i>
Condit, Hon. John S.,	<i>New-Jersey.</i>
Cushing, Hon. Caleb,	<i>Massachusetts.</i>
Davidson, Richard,	<i>South Carolina.</i>
Davies, Hon. Charles S.,	<i>Maine.</i>
Davis, Hon. John,	<i>Massachusetts.</i>
Dickenson, Hon. Mahlon,	<i>New-Jersey.</i>
Drake, Samuel G.,	<i>Massachusetts.</i>
Dunbar, Rev. Elijah,	<i>New-Hampshire.</i>
Duponceau, Peter S., LL.D.,	<i>Pennsylvania.</i>
Ducachet, Henry W., D.D.,	"
Duer, Hon. William A.,	<i>New-York.</i>
Elton, Prof. Romeo,	<i>Rhode Island.</i>
Evans, David E.,	<i>New-York.</i>
Everett, Hon. Edward, LL.D.,	<i>Massachusetts.</i>
Farmer, Henry T., M.D.,	<i>South Carolina.</i>
Felt, Rev. Joseph B.,	<i>Massachusetts.</i>
Fine, Hon. John,	<i>New-York.</i>
Flagg, Hon. Azariah C.,	<i>New-York.</i>
Gaines, Gen. E. P.,	<i>U. S. A.</i>
Garden, Major Alexander,	"
Gardiner, David, Esq.,	<i>New-York.</i>
Granger, Hon. Francis,	<i>District of Columbia.</i>
Green, Rev. Ashbel, D.D.,	<i>New-Jersey.</i>
Hall, John E.,	<i>Pennsylvania.</i>
Harris, Thaddeus M., D.D.,	<i>Massachusetts.</i>
Harley, Isaac,	<i>South Carolina.</i>
Hawley, Jesse,	<i>New-York.</i>
Hitchcock, Prof. Edward,	<i>Massachusetts.</i>
Hopkinson, Hon. Joseph,	<i>Pennsylvania.</i>
Ives, Eli, M.D.,	<i>Connecticut.</i>
Jackson, James, M.D.,	<i>Massachusetts.</i>
Jackson, Hon. Andrew, LL.D.,	<i>Tennessee.</i>
Lowell, Charles, D.D.,	<i>Massachusetts.</i>
Marsh, George P.,	<i>Vermont.</i>
McIlvaine, Rt. Rev. C. P.,	<i>Ohio.</i>
Mease, James, M.D.,	<i>Pennsylvania.</i>
Milledoler, Philip, D.D.,	<i>New-Jersey.</i>
Moore, Rt. Rev. Richard C.,	<i>Virginia.</i>
Murdock, James, D.D.,	<i>Connecticut.</i>
Nichols, Ichabod, D.D.,	<i>Maine.</i>
Nott, Rev. Eliphalet, D.D.,	<i>New-York.</i>

Peale, Charles W.,	<i>Pennsylvania.</i>
Pennington, Gov. William,	<i>New-Jersey.</i>
Perkins, Cyrus, M.D.,	<i>New-Hampshire.</i>
Pierce, John, D.D.,	<i>Massachusetts.</i>
Pickering, John, LL.D.,	"
Plumer, Hon. William,	<i>New-Hampshire.</i>
Porter, Hon. Peter B.,	<i>New-York.</i>
Prescott, Hon. Samuel J.,	<i>Massachusetts.</i>
Prescott, William H.,	"
Quincy, Hon. Josiah,	"
Reed, Hon. William B.,	<i>Pennsylvania.</i>
Root, Hon. Erastus,	<i>New-York.</i>
Rush, Hon. Richard,	<i>Pennsylvania.</i>
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Young, Hon. Samuel,	"

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Yeates, G. D. M.D., F.R.S.,	<i>London.</i>

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ERRATA.

Page 183, for 1645 read 1642.

" 342, tenth line from bottom, for *appeared* read *appear*.

" 345, note, last line, for *i, 3d. series* read *ix, 2d. series*.

" 453, fourth line from bottom, for *Charles I.* read *Charles II.*

" 470, last line, for *Francis* read *Frederick*.

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